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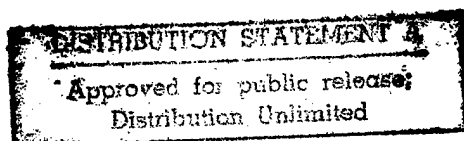
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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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29 November 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER DWELLS ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Sofia RODOLYUBIE in Bulgarian No 8, 1985 pp 16, 17

[Article by Lyubomir Popov, deputy minister of foreign affairs and chairman of the Committee Dealing with Question of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and Religious Cults: "Denominations in Our Country"]

[Text] Here in Bulgaria, as in most of the developed countries of the world, the church is separate from the state. After 9 September 1944, the social status and rights of all religious denominations and the corresponding church organizations were equalized. Discrimination based on religious faith was eliminated. Believers in our nation enjoy complete freedom to profess and practice their religion.

Chapter Three of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's republic contains a basic principle: equality of all citizens before the law. Discrimination on the basis of background, religion, gender, race, education, and socioeconomic status is forbidden. Article 53 of the Constitution states that citizens are guaranteed freedom of conscience and religion, including performing religious rites. These constitutional decrees are further elucidated in a number of texts included in the Laws on Denominations. According to Article 4: "No one can be prosecuted or have his civil or political rights limited, neither can he be freed from carrying out the obligations placed on by the laws of the nation, because he belongs to one denomination or another, or if he belongs to no particular denomination." And according to Article 5, the organizational structure, rites, and services in the various denominations are guided by their own canons, dogmas, and constituent determinations. The guarantee that ensures these rights is contained as well in the penal decrees of Articles 164 and 165 of the Criminal Code, where serious punishments are foreseen for all those who preach hatred on a religious basis or who, by force or with threats, hinder citizens from professing their creed or performing their religious rites and services.

We now have functioning in the Bulgarian People's Republic the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the most widespread denomination, with its recognized, positive, historical role in the formation of the Bulgarian nation eleven centuries ago and maintaining its subsequent historical development. The head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, Patriarch Maksim, recently celebrated his seventieth birthday, on the occasion of which and for his services

to the Bulgarian People's Republic he received from the Council of Minister the 13 Centuries of Bulgaria medal with great distinction. As we well know, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church functions completely freely in terms of its clergy, from the metropolitans and members of the Holy Synod to the parish priests, with open cathedrals in the cities and villages and monks and nuns in the monasteries.

In Bulgaria the Moslem faith also functions freely. The Moslems profess and practice their faith according to the Koran in their houses of worship, the mosques. The Bulgarian Moslem religious organization is headed by the main tyuftiya (with headquarters in the capital. There are as well rayon tyufitiyas in seven okrug cities and hundreds of imams in cities and villages who serve the religious needs of Bulgarian Moslem believers.

Together with the Bulgarian Orthodox Christians and Bulgarian Moslems, Bulgarian Catholics (from two rites, the Western, Roman Catholics, and Eastern, the so-called Uniates), as well as various Protestant sects, such as Pentecostals, Adventists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists freely profess their faith. All of them have their clergy, bishops, priests, pastors, monks, nuns, etc. Their churches and houses of prayer are open; religious services and rites are performed freely according to the canons and dogmas. Armenian Gregorians and Israelites, led by the central organs, the diocese council of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church and the Central Israelite Spiritual Council, also practice and function in the same free and normal way in correspondence with their religious rules.

Believers from the widespread religious denominations, despite professing different creeds, are sons and daughters of one fatherland, the Bulgarian People's Republic, and they participate actively in the construction of a socialist society, which frees them from class oppression and exploitation, creates work for all and establishes conditions for everyone to participate more actively and in greater numbers in guiding the nation, for a constant rise in their material and cultural welfare, and in the formation of the multifaceted, developed socialist individual.

None of the believers in a religion in any country belong only to that nation or people, because these religions are spread out over many countries. Thus they cannot be considered national entities. This is especially relevant for such worldwide religions as Christianity, Islam, etc. This is why religious faith and religious consciousness cannot be mixed with national consciousness. Thus no state in the world and no government can pretend that they alone represent a given religion. Any self-proclamation by monopolistic defenders of a given religion opens up the path to mixing in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, which represents a crude violation of the norms of international law.

We know that over the course of decades many citizens of our nation with traditionally non-Bulgarian names have enjoyed the privilege of changing them. This can in no way be interpreted as scorn for one religion or another, because there are no religious norms which determine names. And changing names is a long-standing and legal practice in many countries, including Bulgaria.



Our state assists denominations materially, for otherwise it would be difficult for them to pay their clergy and maintain themselves. The state budget also allocates significant sums for the restoration of cultural-historical monuments, churches, mosques, and houses of prayer of various religious denominations, etc. The socialist state takes care of these religious monuments as a part of the nation's cultural-historical heritage. It shows concern for them, without differentiating among denominations. Evidence of this is widespread and can be seen everywhere.

The Bulgarian People's Republic has also seen the realization of patriotic, socialist unity of all its citizens, both believers and non-believers. The church organizations value the favorably adopted principles of separation of church and state, as well as freedom of conscience, and they acknowledge the concern and assistance rendered by the state for their activity.

Believers of all denominations support the socialist societal structure, established by the will of the people, and participate actively in the construction of a developed socialist society. They support the nation's foreign policy, the essence of which is the principled and consistent struggle for peace and cooperation among all peoples, maintaining world peace, the development of good neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation among the Balkan states.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ARTICLE ON PRECONGRESS IDEOLOGY TASKS

AU040701 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Milos Marko from the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Central Committee in Bratislava in the "On a Theoretical Topic" column: "Orientation Toward the Effectiveness in Ideological Work"]

[Excerpts] The basic features of Marxist-Leninist scientific ideology, and the forms and methods with which it is implemented, include the fact that it is linked with practice; that it applies creative approaches to problems of domestic and foreign policy, the new social reality, the future transformations it will undergo, and its shift to new tasks; and that it takes account of natural [zakonite] changes in the people's minds and interest.

Link With Practice and a Measure of Efficiency

At the CPSL Central Committee session in June, Comrade Jozef Lenart said that there was a great untapped potential as regards the consistent implementation of the requirement for ideological work to become the concern of the entire party, of every party member. We understand effectiveness as being a certain level of achieving such goals while making the best possible use of the existing possibilities of shaping them. The criterion of effectiveness in ideological work is to be found in the people's way of thinking and acting. The degree of scientific knowledge of objective reality, of communist awareness, of the people's social activity in the struggle to fulfill the socioeconomic and cultural-educational tasks are all regarded as part of the effectiveness of ideological work. The aim of ideo-educational work is to shape socialist consciousness, which establishes the prerequisites for active, conscious, and creative participation in building the developed socialist society.

The basic requirements for effective ideological work include the requirement that it be linked to the needs of the interests of individuals; and that it is offensive, precise and comprehensible. The prerequisites for effective ideology also include awareness of the level of group consciousness, the level of consciousness among the members of a working collective, and the extent of the impact of hostile propaganda or vestiges of the past. From this follows the requirement for a differentiated approach.

Although the effectiveness of ideological work frequently cannot be directly measured in a quantitative and qualitative sense, certain criteria do exist. They concern the level of new or changed knowledge, convictions, and attitudes, and their impact on the further independent acquisition of knowledge, appraisal, and explanation; the forming of an "immunity" to incorrect views; and finally a shift from awareness to working and social activity, from recognition of moral principles to implementation of them.

The basis of effectiveness here is the formulation and solution of topical issues; close ties with life; and direct interlinkage with the work place. It would seem desirable to complement the words we so frequently hear, even in official statements, on the need for discipline, legality, order, and the need to struggle against the negative counterparts of these values. The Leninist specific analysis of a specific situation can be applied here. At this stage, and particularly on lower levels, we need specific examples and specific measures.

Ideological work is aimed at the main focuses in the economic sphere, it acts as a tangible noninvestment factor of intensification. Not only does it explain the needs, it shows the possibilities and the untapped potential, and it encourages creative initiative and creativity. For instance, the explanation of such a category [categorie] as collectivism leads to the implementation of brigade forms of work and remuneration, the better use of production conferences, and harmony between the interests of the individual and the needs of society as a whole.

#### Thinking and Acting in New Ways

The oft repeated words about the need to reorganize whole production centers, to restructure, are based on the need to make use of the untapped potential in production for saving raw materials, energy, and other materials; to make use of secondary raw materials; and to orient oneself toward a sensible and sober consumption.

These problems are necessarily a topic of ideological work. They cannot be understood as some "surplus" task; they are a vital part of management and everyday organizational activity, and also the activity--at work and after work--of the communists and of all conscious-minded working people.

In the same way that police [politika] is the epitome of economics, the explanation of problems connected with the level of production forces and production relations, and the solution of contradictions in this sphere, are an economic-organizational matter and a task of ideological work. This sphere has its economic aspects, but also its aspects of world outlook and morality. We have here an important political approach to problems. It is the business of ideology not only to form clearcut concepts and introduce class viewpoints into the solution of problems; it is also its business to create a general atmosphere of awareness of responsibility for societal tasks.

The same urgency applies to the tasks in the sphere of enhancing the contribution made by ideological work to explaining the basic external contradiction of our era--the contradictions of imperialism versus socialism, and of its topical features in the conflict between the forces that are escalating the nuclear danger and forces of peace.

We place great emphasis on positive propaganda about the advantage of socialism, its humanitarian orientation and its peace efforts--on how we explain these things also at present in the standpoints and the realization of the Soviet Union's peace initiatives and in its fight for putting an end to risky U.S. actions in the sphere of the nuclear threat.

### Offensively Against Bourgeois Ideology

Even though counterpropaganda is part of propaganda as a whole we still give it a separate place as a special sphere of propaganda activity. This is particularly so in the current period, when imperialism is resorting to aggressive acts, economic pressures, ideological subversion, and a psychowar, which, as is noted in the CPSU Central Committee documents of December 1984, "is, by its intensity, content, and methods, a special form of aggression, directed against the sovereignty of other countries." The enormous propaganda apparatus of the imperialists is aimed at providing an apology for the bourgeois system; it conceals the antihumane nature of this system, strives to suppress the truth about real socialism and about the development of socialist democratism in our country, and to conceal or distort facts.

Here we can learn on the growing awareness of party members, and also non-members. However, the exacerbation of the ideological struggle in the international field and the orientation of the military-industrial complex toward an escalation of nuclear armament, including space armament, urge us to develop both the positive propaganda of our ideas and of reality, but also our offensive fight against bourgeois ideology and against the false contents, sophisticated methods, and resourceful norms of its propaganda.

Our ideological work should also unmask the false concepts of various "improved" ("revived" or "pluralist") socialism. It is just as vital to unmask the goals of political clericalism, which is oriented not only toward anti-state activism, but also toward weakening the peace actions of the patriotic clergy and toward reversing the positive attitude of the believers toward the country's socialist development.

For an active and effective offensive fight against these actions we must make use of all features on Marxist-Leninist ideo-educational work (its truthful, scientific, and partyminded nature and its class approach), but we must also enhance its impact by making use of social psychology, a differentiated approach, and specific analyses of specific attacks; we must unmask the practices, forms, and methods of psychowar and manipulating public opinion. Our counterpropaganda does not disprove every single

deformation, ingenious falsification of the Marxist-Leninist theory, or fabrication about real socialism. Its purpose is to unmask the strategy and tactics, and the reactionary political class goals of imperialism; to unmask its efforts to acquire a power-economic and military-political supremacy. Our counter propaganda must convincingly unmask the effort to achieve dominating positions under the guise of "U.S. interests," a term used for nuclear missile bases in Western Europe and the Pacific; for the military and financial support of Israel's aggression; for anti-Nicaraguan mercenaries in Honduras; and so forth. This also applies to U.S. support for militarism and revanchism in the FRG, the modernization of the subversive transmitters of Radio Free Europe and Voice of America, and of all those various "Eastern Europe departments" and "scientific institutes" in the NATO states.

#### Crystallization of World Outlook and Socialist Orientation

Good ideological work fulfills a preventive world-outlook and methodological function--it reaches ahead of the adversary and neutralizes him, equips people with arguments, deepens their value orientation, and supports their ability to disprove the propaganda of subversionist centers. In the present period our propaganda can only rely on the fruitful suggestions and discussions preceding the 27th CPSU Congress. In the same way it makes use of historical anniversaries for reviving the people's revolutionary memory, as well as for implementing historic lessons.

Today it can be said that our ideological front has at its disposal a considerable number of fundamental books and brochures, and the ideo-educational sector is being daily provided with arguments. Deplorably, we still come across questions at lectures, in various forms of ideological education, and even in everyday conversations, that have already been thoroughly explained in great detail by the press.

We still have a considerable number of tasks and shortcomings that have not been overcome, for instance in the sphere of operative reactions to coarse attacks and of a timely provision of information, in the insufficient implementation of a differentiated approach, and in the use of emotional elements, as well as of specific knowledge about the social consciousness of groups of people.

Comparison with the production, and also consumption, standards of certain countries sometimes leads to uncritical admiration (while overlooking their exploitative sources and superficial "qualities"), instead of an analysis of both our own possibilities and weak spots. Sometimes it is a question of inherited shortcomings, or of tasks that we did not resolve in the preceding phases (such as the extensive approach; low labor productivity; underestimation of social preventive measures; and neglect of reprisals for anti-social phenomena); at other times it is a question of tasks following from the demands posed by the building of developed socialism and by further prospects of development. Here ideological work has to elucidate the prerequisites for a more rapid transition to the phase of developed socialism, which places new demands on management structures, but also the

requalification [rekvalitikace] of the people, the mastery of what the Soviet schools call "the computer ABC," at least in its basic form, but also an active position in life. The thing is to transfer the model of the socialist way of life into everyday behavior at work and also after work; and to clarify and apply the principles of socialist morality.

The demand for a reorganization of ideological work does not apply only to the management structures of individual spheres--the mass media, lecture propaganda, education and upbringing--and their content. We are not concerned with merely formulating the main points and the "main thrust" toward the revolution in research and development and toward the process of intensification; we are also concerned with making more scientific the forms and methods of individual institutions responsible for ideological and ideological activity--social organizations for education and upbringing, and the media for disseminating social information.

Every problem contains an ideological aspect and it is important to spread ideology in propaganda simultaneously with implementing it throughout all sectors. The crystallization of the world outlook, the orientation toward socialist values, the orientation toward active attitudes in life, and socialist ethics are not just categories of the educational process, of mass information, or the disciplines of social sciences; they are also categories of individual kinds of art--in specific esthetic form, and to a varying degree.

In political-ideological work, too, some things can and must be done immediately; some gradually, on a long-term basis; and some lastingly and systematically. But they must always be done on a successively higher level of the progressive spiral. One must neither lag behind nor run too far ahead; one must not formulate unrealistic goals in a voluntarist manner. Even though congresses always bring with them new tasks and deepen existing knowledge, ideological work must be even more intensified already during the congress preparation. There are fundamental issues in ideological work, which have not yet been sufficiently implemented. There are also topical issues that must be answered today and every day, "here and now," on the basis of historical experience and, when it comes to resolving problems, on the basis of the criteria of tomorrow.

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CSO: 2400/52

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RUDE PRAVO SUMS UP RESULTS OF WARSAW PACT CONFERENCE

LD241022 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 24 Oct 85

[From the press review]

[Text] RUDE PRAVO's special correspondent Jan Kovarik sums up the results of the Sofia session of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee.

He stresses the realistic conviction of the Warsaw Pact countries that the peace forces, making active and joint progress, are capable of averting nuclear catastrophe, of safeguarding the most valuable right of the peoples: the right to live in peace and to develop independently and freely. The philosophy of the Sofia session is the indisputable certainty that the dangerous development in the world can be halted and changed in favor of the policy of relaxation of tension and peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems. This requires active political dialogue between governments, political parties, social forces, and movements which value peace and cooperation between peoples.

Jan Kovarik goes on to say that the Warsaw Pact member countries reaffirmed in Sofia their willingness and readiness to do everything possible for active cooperation with all those who favor normalization of the international situation. That is why they welcome the coming USSR-U.S. summit in Geneva which they view as a possibility for improving the atmosphere in the world, connecting with it the hope that the summit will be followed by concrete disarmament measures.

What is needed for normalization? Above all, the political will to talk, the conviction that arguments in today's world cannot be solved in any other way except by means of talks, that all problems and weapons can be discussed. The existing dialogue between countries with differing social systems proves that talks are possible, despite differing ideological views and that it is also possible to reach joint conclusions. Certainly, it will be a difficult and complicated process, requiring patience and a reasonable dose of compromise, but it is a manageable and reasonable path.

In order to push through positive change in the world, it is necessary to put an end to the policy of force, to respect national independence, to give up the use of force or the threat of force, to respect present political and territorial realities, not to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, and not to justify, let alone carry out, the policy of state terrorism, Jan Kovarik, RUDE PRAVO's special correspondent writes.

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CSO: 2400/52



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NAROZNY ADDRESSES UNESCO FORUM IN SOFIA

LD161952 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 15 Oct 85

[Report by Sofia correspondent Ladislav Sakal]

[Text] The UNESCO general conference in Sofia was addressed today by Roman Narozy, deputy minister of foreign affairs and leader of the CSSR delegation. At a time when the international climate has deteriorated dangerously and world tension has increased, said Roman Narozy, UNESCO's role as a peaceful and rational universal organization is constantly growing. In this context it is our view that the principle of universality is proving to be an indispensable condition for fruitful cooperation within the United Nations system as a whole, of which UNESCO is a part.

Those who are turning away from UNESCO are not only repudiating the ideals imbued in this organization by its founders, they are also stifling the aspirations of those nations who joined UNESCO on winning their own political independence. The CSSR delegation, stressed Roman Narozy, fully backs UNESCO's role in tackling the global problems of today's world as set out in UNESCO's medium-term plan. In our view, he stated, it is vital to make use of all the findings of science, education, and culture so that they can play their part in getting to grips with the present global problems. Education, science, and culture must become a constant humanizing factor in society as a whole, and must not be spheres which could be used with evil intentions against mankind.

Appeals are coming in from all corners of the world for world unity, a world free of war, a socially just and fundamentally democratic world. Let the future activity of our organization play its own part in the response to those appeals. That was how Roman Narozy, the head of the CSSR delegation, brought his speech to a close in the general debate at the 23rd plenary session of the UNESCO general conference which continues tomorrow with discussions in individual committees and groups.

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CSO: 2400/52

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHNOUPEK REVIEWS UNGA SESSION RESULTS

AU081121 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Oct 85 p 4

[CTK New York dispatch: "Fulfillment of the UN Charter Goals; Interview With Bohuslav Chnoupek, Minister of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] Prior to his departure from New York, Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs and head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the 40th UN General Assembly Session, granted an interview to a CTK reporter. In it he evaluated the course of this year's UN General Assembly to date, pointing out the main aspects of its negotiations and also the significance of meetings with his partners, which took place during his stay in New York. In the interview B. Chnoupek stated:

"In the first place it must be stressed that the present, jubilee, 40th session is being held in an atmosphere which differs from former sessions. Above all, I have in mind the fact that it emphatically manifests the trend toward nonconfrontational or less confrontational approaches. "It can be stated with gratification that the overwhelming majority of delegations highly appreciate the existence of the United Nations, and the irreplaceable significance of this broadest and most representative world forum and its Charter. In the first place, emphasis is placed on the three main elements of stable international order which are anchored in the basic UN code: the maintenance of world peace, international security and disarmament; issues connected with deolonialization and with the elimination of the vetiges of colonialism, racism, and apartheid; and last, the progressive development of a just and effective system of international economic relations.

"Even though not all set goals have so far been achieved, it is nevertheless necessary to see the positive balance sheet of the United Nations. In this one must constantly keep in mind that the high value of the 40-year effort to preserve and strengthen world peace would be immediately apparent, were this effort to lessen, or even stop. Thus the United Nations has delivered, and is delivering, good work. That is why, as we have stated in our speech, it deserves our recognition. Currently the thing is to make use of its every experience to further improve its efficiency; to develop its operations in the political and security spheres; to deepen broad cooperation in the economic, social, legal, cultural, and humanitarian spheres and to make it more flexible, with the use of all reserves and by eliminating the elements

of formalism; and last, to generally strengthen its place and role in international relations.

"The constructive course of the session is undoubtedly positively influenced by certain signs of a thaw in the still chilly political atmosphere. Almost all heads of delegations who have spoken so far welcome the approaching meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. They expect it to yield positive impulses, which should go far beyond the framework of Soviet-American relations and which should favorably influence the further overall development of international life.

"I regard the almost unanimously expressed imperative need to avert the danger of a nuclear war, the achievement of specific measures on the road toward disarmament, and the unambiguous support--with the exception of the U.S. delegation--for the effort for the nonmilitarization of space as a most significant feature of the course of the UN General Assembly to date. This fact reflects the fears of possible risks which follow from feverish armament and from the specific endeavors of the U.S. military-industrial complex to transfer it into space. In this context a particularly prominent place is held by the highly stimulating USSR proposal "On International Cooperation in the Peaceful Use of Outer Space, Excluding Its Militarization," which was included in the agenda of this session and which has so far been gaining the direct or indirect support of practically all delegations in the course of the session.

Naturally, a whole series of disarmament proposals resounded from the high UN rostrum: a certain place among them belongs to the initiative of the CSSR and GDR Governments, which proposed to the FRG Government the conclusion of an agreement on the establishment of a zone free of chemical arms in Europe which should initially cover the territories of these three states.

"Another most important aspect of the negotiations is, in my opinion, the extraordinary intensity with which the policy of state terrorism was and is being condemned--the policy still practiced, despite all the condemning UN resolutions and without any scruples, by the racist regime of the South African Republic and by its fellow-traveller Israel. An overwhelming majority of the delegations are very emphatically promoting a peaceful and just solution of all hotbeds of tension and conflicts in the area which reaches from the Middle East and up to Central America.

"More than ever before, this year the attention of the General Assembly is focused on the economic factor of international relations. I have particularly in mind the issues of the developing countries' indebtedness, with all the political ramifications, and also the fact that the overwhelming majority spoke in favor of normalizing the loan policy. And, naturally, I also have in mind the fact that the same majority is demanding--and with a far greater emphasis than in the past--a reorganization of international economic relations, based on just and democratic foundations and establishing conditions for a cooperation based on equal rights, without embargoes, discriminatory measures, sanctions, or endeavors to make economic and humanitarian assistance dependent on political concessions.

"During my stay in New York, I met Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and other heads of delegations from the socialist countries. Likewise, a meeting took place with Jaime de Pinies, chairman of the 40th UN General Assembly Session; and I was received by Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general.

"These meetings, which traditionally represent an inseparable part of the atmosphere also during the General Assemblies, have shown also this year that they are an effective means of clarifying viewpoints on how to continue further in fulfilling the lofty goals of the UN Charter, on how to avert a nuclear war, and on how to best serve the cause of peace, disarmament, detente, and the broadest peaceful cooperation. I consider my meetings and talks with the ministers of foreign affairs most useful, also because we had an opportunity to exchange views on several bilateral issues and how to further develop our mutual contacts in the spheres of common interest. Naturally, these were brief talks; but nevertheless they were most stimulating talks, most inspiring for further contacts."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KAPEK ADDRESSES CAMBODIAN PARTY CONGRESS

AU161113 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Oct 85 p 7

[CTK correspondent: "Deliberations of the KPRP Congress; Speech by the Head of the CPCZ Delegations"]

[Text] Phnom Penh--In the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh the 5th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) continued yesterday with the delegates' discussion and foreign guests' speeches.

The congress was also greeted by Antonin Kapek, head of the CPCZ delegation, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, and leading secretary of the CPCZ Prague City Committee. He stressed that Czechoslovak communists and all people follow with great sympathy and interest the immense effort expended by the KPRP at the head of the Cambodian people in their struggle for the construction of a new society and the defense of the fatherland. They rejoice over the fact that the terrible consequences of the rule of the Pol Pot regime, which--through its policy of mass genocide and destruction of all cultural values--caused the country immense damage and brought it to the very brink of total catastrophe. The fact that Cambodia lives is the merit of the country's patriotic forces, of the international assistance of Vietnam and other socialist states, and of the solidarity of the world's progressive and democratic forces.

Kapek noted further that Czech and Slovak workers, technicians, physicians, and members of other professions also helped with Cambodia's reconstruction. Thus, they contributed and continue to contribute to the strengthening of Czechoslovak-Cambodian friendship, to the expansion of the two countries' cooperation in various spheres. This cooperation is being systematically expanded, it is becoming more purposeful and goal-oriented, and the contacts between the CPCZ and the KPRP too are strengthening and deepening.

At the end of his speech, the head of the CPCZ delegation stressed that Czechoslovakia actively favors the solution of all conflict situations and urgent problems in the world, supports the struggle of nations for independence, against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid, and stands on the side of the nations of Indochina, which--through realistic proposals--are striving for an honorable settlement of problems in the region of Southeast Asia.

In the afternoon, the CPCZ delegation went sightseeing in the capital of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

OFFICIAL OF NEW SPANISH CP ON PARTY'S STRENGTH

AU081131 [Editorial Report] Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 40 on 2 October 1985 on pages 8 and 9 carries an 850-word interview given by Jose Luis Garcia, "Functionary of the New Communist Party [word indistinct] to Robert Dengler. The date and place of the interview, which is published under the headline "We Are Beginning Anew, But Are Growing in Strength," are not specified.

Replying to Dengler's questions, Garcia, who is "functionary in charge of party organization in Sevilla Province," first says that the party is facing two problems: "The first problem is the struggle against capitalism, which continues; the second problem is the building of a new party. We want to return fully to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. We want to build in Andalusia, where I come from, and in the whole country a Communist Party that will again profess the former revolutionary political values. That means that we are beginning anew." Speaking about the party's influence among workers, Garcia then says that it is strongest in Catalonia "where a sizable number of workers joined the party," in Madrid, the Balearic Islands, and Valencia. In Andalusia, he says, the situation is "a bit peculiar." There the party reportedly "maintains a relatively strong influence in rural areas," but has a "somewhat weaker influence in the industry of Andalusia because many 'Eurocommunists' still maintain certain positions in the workers movement there." Garcia believes, however, that the "trend is favorable" because "despite the short existence of our party, we have already reached a representation of about 10 percent in the Congress of Workers Commissions, which is a strong left-wing trade union organization."

Speaking about the party's membership, Garcia then says: "We have about 40,000 members in the whole of Spain, of which around 6,000 are in Andalusia. We can say that whereas many people have left the 'Eurocommunist' Party, we are really growing in strength. We have started the process of unifying communists. We have enlisted thousands of people who had not been previously members of any party but also those who became members [of the PCE] in the last years of the dictatorship and in the initial period of the bourgeois democracy. Many of them had been disappointed by the 'Eurocomm-nist' line." In addition, Garcia says, the party is also "winning new members from among Trotskyite or Maoist parties and groups. They are joining us simply because they see our realistic program. They realize that we are the only ones who really defend the interests of the working people."

In his concluding statements, Garcia says that his party cooperates with "peace and other democratic forces in Spain, especially in the struggle against NATO," and reports that the subject of Czechoslovakia often crops up during discussions in party organizations as well as in the party press, "which serves the reinforcement of bonds between your people and Spanish communists."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DETAILS OF RECENT BRATISLAVA KIDNAPPING REVEALED

AU211550 [Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 17 October on page 3 and Bratislava SMENA NA NEDELU in Slovak on 18 October on page 4 both carry an 1,800-word article headlined "Kidnappers Have Not Got a Chance," revealing details of the 21 September kidnapping attempt in Bratislava. The article is reprinted from SIGNAL--an illustrated weekly of the Union for Cooperation With the Army, SVAZARM--and its author is Jiri Margolius, a SIGNAL editor.

Margolius writes that in Bratislava on 27 September two men took a hostage at gunpoint and drove with him in his car to the Petržalka border crossing point with the intention of forcing the border guards to let them cross into Austria. The car--as the photos illustrating the article show--was a black Tatra-613 Limousine, used by high-ranking CSSR officials.

Margolius describes the hostage as a "high-ranking official of a Bratislava agency [URAD]," a "physician, not quite healthy," whose daughter was slated to marry the next day.

The first kidnapper--characterized as "obviously the soul of the operation"--is said to have been a locksmith, 25, married, 2 children, with a previous criminal record, carrying a 7.65 mm pistol that he acquired "when he broke into a Bratislava enterprise." He "was not satisfied with life in this fatherland."

The second kidnapper is said to have been a driver, 26, also with a previous criminal record, and a 6.35 mm pistol, which he claimed to have "bought from an unknown person."

According to the author of the article, four shots were fired from the two pistols at the "defenders of the state border and members of the State Security Corps."

The father who was held hostage will be able to attend his daughter's wedding, Margolius concludes.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JENERAL ON 'SHORTCOMINGS' IN YOUTH ORGANIZATION WORK

AU100839 [Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 8 October on page 3, under the headline "To Accomplish More Than Yesterday and Today" carries 3,800-words of excerpts from a speech by Jaroslav Jeneral, chairman of the Social Youth Union (SYU) Central Committee, delivered at the 13th session of the SYU Central Committee in Prague on 7 October. The session was devoted to the share of the young generation in fulfilling the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and of the conclusions of the 3d SYU Congress.

In his speech, Jeneral exhorts all SYU members to assess the results of their activity to date and do even more in honor of the 17th CPCZ Congress that will be held next year, and to couple their endeavor to build a developed socialist society with the "struggle for the most fundamental human right--the right to live in peace."

In this connection he condemns "world imperialism, headed by the American administration" for trying "through political aggression" to nullify the results of the progressive forces' struggle for peace.

Reviewing the SYU's accomplishments and future tasks, Jeneral says that "it is impossible not to see a number of problems and shortcomings. We know most of them and we are not talking about them for the first time." Some of the organizations, Jeneral says, are not capable of being more imaginative in their work "or perhaps they do not even want to be" or of winning over to their work "all their members and other young people within the radius of their activity. There also are organizations, that react only a little or not at all to concrete life around them, to problems at the place they are active, to the joys and concerns of young people in their surroundings." There are also functionaries, Jeneral says, who "literally harm the common cause" by "thinking and behaving in the old manner, and who do not fill with creative activity the scope created for us by the party, state, and social agencies and organizations. The bureaucratic and ossified attitudes that still continue to crop up here and there then create a fertile soil for certain manifestations of formalism."

In another part of his speech, he says that "the strong aspect of the activity of the majority of basic organizations, the same as in previous years, is the work and study activity. The past period affirmed that. However, the

truth is that after a more thorough analysis we arrive at the conclusion that in many collectives initiatives have the old, extensive form." Another thing at which no one can rejoice, Jeneral says, is the fact that "despite a number of measures, the number of youth collectives is growing only slowly, and there are regions where their number even stagnates or is decreasing."

Speaking about "ideoeducational work," Jeneral says that one of the decisive tasks in the coming period is its intensification "and this demand comes particularly to the forefront in the mass political work, which in many respects is still considerably removed from the man in the street, does not take note of everyday problems and unclarities, and does respond to them convincingly." [As received]

As regards "our patriotic and international upbringing," here Jeneral says that "one must not slacken this, even for a moment. Let us admit to ourselves that a part of youth, although only miniscule, is not quite clear as regards the issues of peace and war, and perceives and assesses the current international political situation from nonclass positions."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

STROUGAL TOAST AT DINNER IN BUCHAREST

AU240943 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Oct 85 p 7

["From the Speech" delivered by Comrade Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, at festive dinner given for him by Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, on 17 October in Bucharest]

[Text] In the first place, permit me to express my pleasure at my visit to fraternal Romania, a country to which we are bound by the ties of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation. At the same time, accept the comradely greetings sent by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, as well as by the CSSR's Federal Government.

Together with my gratitude for the care with which our stay in Bucharest is accompanied, I also want to express appreciation of the recognition bestowed by you, esteemed Comrade Dascalescu, on the CPCZ's responsible work and on the efforts exerted by the people of our fatherland. Your words affirm the firm relations of friendship between our Communist Parties and our socialist countries.

For this reason, accept the deep assurance that the peoples of Czechoslovakia harbor the same sentiments about Romania. For there are such a lot of things which bind us together already from the past. We have been down the roads of battles for our national liberation and state independence. Together we dreamed about pushing through social justice and about enthroning the best system on earth--socialism. After the historic victory over fascism 40 years ago, we were granted the opportunity to realize the longings of the best sons and daughters of our peoples and to take the path of socialist transformations side by side. At the same time, it ought to be said that we have not forgotten--that we will never forget--the share the Romanian troops had in Czechoslovakia's liberation. Their bright memory has forever entered the minds of our people.

It is therefore only natural that we in our country follow attentively all that your country and your people are experiencing, particularly now, in assiduously fulfilling the tasks of the 13th RCP Congress in building the socialist society.

Believe me, you have a good partner and ally in Czechoslovakia, which is just now taking stock of the results of the preceding congress of its Communist Party and which is planning to formulate even bolder tasks in construction at the approaching 17th congress. At the same time, our cooperation is counted in decades. Its useful and mutually advantageous nature has been confirmed by innumerable proofs in bilateral relations, but also in the areas of CEMA.

It can be declared that the balance of our mutuality is remarkable--and this applies to all spheres and all levels. We are proud of the fact that we are bound together by the ideals of internationalism, which our Communist Parties are guarding like the apple of their eyes. At the same time we are stimulated in our work by the effective regulations of our Central Committees, as well as by the personal care devoted by their secretary generals, Comrades Gustav Husak and Nicolae Ceausescu. In this the joint declarations on the further intensification of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the CPCZ and the RCP and between the CSSR and the SR of Romania are a source of further incentives for us.

We are concentrating on dynamic upsurge, but also on the qualitative transformation of economic collaboration. We have achieved quite a lot, we are not satisfied yet. The possibilities of our economies are much greater, and literally call upon us to orient ourselves toward cooperating in progressive sectors, toward stepping up the percentages of specialized and cooperative deliveries, and toward engaging in a program of effective mutuality in science and technology. At a time when our states are correctly oriented toward the intensification factors in the economy, it is impossible to work in the old way, above all not in the economic sphere. That is why we devoted extraordinary attention to these issues in our talks. And we rightly believe that in the coming years we are duty bound to provide Czechoslovak-Romanian friendship with new dimensions exactly in these spheres.

All that we are doing, all that we are responsibly discussing, has one common denominator: peace; peace not only on the old continent, but throughout the world. That is why we are deeply concerned about all that is happening around us. That is why we are seriously alarmed at the acts of world imperialism, at the new round of armaments unleashed by the U.S. military-industrial complex with the aim of transporting the next war into space. As through the war terrors which we again recalled this year were not enough; as though there are not enough arms on earth, on the waters, and in the air; as though all the known thermonuclear arsenals were not enough, which are capable of destroying our blue planet not only once, but many times over.

Such a thing must not be permitted. That is why we are watching over the military equilibrium which is ensured by the united strength of the Warsaw Pact--its supreme session will convene in the near future, to warn the world about the threat to which it is exposed in a totally new and fatal situation. At the same time we will certainly fully support the significant peace initiatives on which we have agreed. In this context I would like to emphasize that the Czechoslovak Government and all our people fully support all recent proposals of the Soviet Union, which can radically resolve the issue of nuclear arms and also exclude the militarization of space. We believe that the

imminent meeting of the top representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States will signify a step forward in this direction and that it will revive the spirit of cooperation that is being justly linked with the Final Act of Helsinki which recently celebrated its first 10th anniversary.

Both our states, our peoples, and our people, are bound together by the same ideals of socialism. We are jointly contributing to the unified effort of the fraternal countries, the consolidated union of which is the guarantee of our peaceful future. That is why our talks and accords which are underway fully correspond to the intentions of bilateral cooperation, but also to the mutuality of the entire socialist community.

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CSO: 2400/52

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE TELEVISION TRANSMITTER PROJECT BEGINS

LD270517 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 24 Oct 85

[No video available]

[Excerpts] Our next report concerns an important construction project which will be under way in Prague over the next few years. Here it is relevant to say that at present, 99 percent of the Czechoslovak population can pick up Czechoslovak TV's Channel 1, and 76 percent can get good reception of Channel 2. However, the extensive network of transmitters and relay stations obviously needs to be modernized and extended so that you, the viewers, can get the best possible TV signal.

What you see here is a scale model of what is going to be the 76th Czechoslovak Television transmitter. It is designated Prague City and will be located on Majerova Square in Prague-3. The transmitter will replace an old temporary transmitter on the Petrin lookout tower, and will also solve the problem of providing a definitive city transmitter in Prague. The 216-meter-high tower will carry equipment for transmitting television channels 1 and 2, VHF radio signals, signals for outside broadcast TV transmissions, and will also house the control center for satellite communications.

The design also includes a restaurant and panoramic salon some 95 meters above the ground. The new Prague City transmitter is expected to improve reception conditions for about 130,000 people in Prague, and many thousands more will be freed of interference of sound and vision. Reception around Prague will also improve. The tower will also be important from the point of view of town planning, because it will be a new and architecturally very successful landmark for our capital city, as well as providing a new socially important center on this quiet square. The investment cost will be Kcs280 million, and the project will come into operation in 1991. Today the foundation stone for the project was laid. Federal Minister of Communications Vlastimil Chalupa gave a short speech pointing out the significance of this project for the modernization and further development of our communications network.

The ceremony was attended by Comrades Antonin Kapek and Josef Haman.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KORCAK SUGGESTS NECESSITY OF CHANGES IN ECONOMY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Oct 85 p 2

[Excerpts from speech by Comrade Josef Korcak]

[Text] The report of the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic regarding fulfillment of the program declaration was presented at the 18th Session of the Czech National Council on Monday in Prague by Comrade Josef Korcak. Among others, he said:

Sectors managed by the Czech Government developed in harmony with the intentions of the 7th Five-Year Plan and made a significant contribution toward strengthening the Czechoslovak economy. During the last 3 years there has been favorable development with respect to the creation of gross national product. The share of material costs in outputs is lower by almost 4 percent and outputs have been 3.6 percent less energy-intensive. We are covering increases in material production through growth in productivity. We are helping to create prerequisites for improving the situation in the fuel-energy complex, in the engineering industry and in other areas. We rightfully consider the increase in the share of the economy we control in exports, which represents one-fourth (and 43 percent of total exports with respect to nonsocialist countries), to be one of the greatest positive factors of economic policy. Our consumer industry has thus made a significant contribution toward an evened-out balance of payments involving socialist countries and toward lowering our indebtedness with respect to free currencies. Our agriculture is also attaining good results and, in the production of grain crops, even achieving very good results. This, together with the successful fulfillment of the plan in other areas, made it possible to continue a policy aimed at increasing the standard of living.

The progress achieved is indisputable. But a critical evaluation shows that we must still overcome and improve many things before we can be considered to be among the most developed nations of the world with respect to the rate of intensification, with respect to increasing the efficiency of the economy and with respect to quality indicators. Our standing in international comparison is the decisive yardstick.

We started out from this principle in selecting the principal tasks, in our critical assessment of the results achieved and in perfecting our own activities. The period of the 7th Five-Year Plan was a demanding test of the effects of the system of planned management of the national economy and a test of the capabilities of leading cadres to assure the needs of all society through creative and initiative methods. The realization of the Set of Measures confirms the absolute necessity of consistently following the path of increasing the independence of enterprises while increasing their responsibility for fulfilling the plan. Life shows that halfway measures, a noncomprehensive and stereotype approach does not pay. We are on the right path in the area of perfecting management even though progress must be accelerated. We cannot permit implementing regulations to weaken the adopted principles. We are aware of the need to finalize the solutions of a number of questions--a better interconnection involving the relationship between economic instruments and methods of direct management, the establishment of differentiated plan indicators at various levels, the more consistent overcoming of the influence of surviving administrative management practices, etc. Serious problems also include a more effective outlining of organizational relationships between individual links of the national economy, including an assessment of the role played by sectoral ministries and improving the quality of the activities of planning and financial organizations. Great efforts which have been developed in this area in recent times by the Soviet Union in the interest of accelerating socioeconomic development in the country, also provide many valuable ideas for our work.

In evaluating the experiences gathered, as well as in seeking ways for future progress, we are supported by the conclusions of the 15th Session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. We pause with full seriousness over the realization of the ideas expressed by Comrade Gustav Husak that "in the management activities of the organs of state administration, beginning at the center and including social organizations, the requirement to improve the quality of the style and methods of work is taking the foreground. The role and responsibility of central organs is and remains very significant. However, efforts to manage everything and everybody from the top by issuing an overabundance of directives, regulations and instructions are in conflict with our policy. Management, and this is true of all levels, must stimulate initiative, open the way to independence and activity. In this regard we must not forget that it is always necessary to connect rights with obligations."

In recent years we have been devoting extraordinary attention to accelerating scientific-technical progress, Comrade Josef Korcak continued.

We have accomplished a number of changes in the management and planning of this area which are beginning to bear the first fruit. We have taken an additional step in concentrating attention in the scientific and research work sites upon the basic requirements of the national economy. A closer connection between the institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and advanced schools and production enterprises is developing, particularly through the medium of establishing joint scientific-research associations.



However, we are not satisfied with the attained level of efficiency of our efforts to accomplish scientific-technical development. For the time being, the overall situation is responsive neither to the intentions of the party nor to the needs of our national economy. There are few products having peak characteristics which are suitable for export and which actually enrich the domestic market. New technological processes are only slowly being implemented. In evaluating fulfillment of the plan, the application of innovative ideas has, thus far, not become the principal yardstick governing the efforts of each economic management or worker collective. We do not deny that we are only at the beginning in creating conditions for scientific-technical development becoming the fundamental requirement, the first duty and the most important concern of ministries, economic production units and enterprises.

The increase in the emphasis on planning, realization and control of the extensive amount of capital construction is among the positive elements of our work in the economic sphere. We have been successful in establishing and activating such large production capacities as the cellulose plant at Paskov, the new factory for the production of paints in Praha Hostivar, the aniline block in the Moravian Chemical Enterprises at Ostrava and the glass works for color television tubes at Valasske Mezirice.

Significant transport facilities were completed: the new line of the Prague metro system, the Antonin Zapotocky bridge, sections of long-distance highway and others. We also participated to a significant extent in the construction of large-scale fuel-energy complexes, in the construction of nuclear power plants, new extractive facilities in North Moravia and North Bohemia Krajs and in a number of projects for the engineering and electrotechnical industries.

The consumer industry, the chemical and wood processing industries are among the most successful branches of the Czech economy even in the present 5-year plan. In June of this year we approved the concept plan for modernizing selected areas of the economy whose rapid realization should favorably influence the quality, profitability and export possibilities. However, these long-term goals must not weaken our resolve to make better use of current production facilities.

Justified criticism is levied against serious shortcomings in the quality of products. In many cases this is the result of the force of habit involving the overvaluation of quantitative indicators. We say openly that the quality of products is now and will be more so in the future a fundamental yardstick of the abilities of each minister and general director to handle the function entrusted to them. We consider the quality of production to be a cumulative indicator of the actual, not just oral support of scientific-technical progress, as a specific reflection of the attained level of organization of work and discipline. We see in it an expression of political and moral responsibility, a manifestation of professional and national pride, of practical concern for the good name of our socialist country.

The long-term overfulfillment of planned tasks in the chemical industry had a favorable influence upon overall economic results. The success of the chemical industry is shared in by the rapid progress of specialization and

cooperation involving the CEMA countries, the advantage of exchanging energy-intensive products for less energy-demanding ones with the Soviet Union.

A more rapid growth of industrial production results in higher demands for the importation of constantly more expensive raw materials. Their conservative processing and the highest possible utilization counts among the significant reserves. That is why the government adopted and the Czech National Council discussed the conception of the better utilization of secondary raw materials, primarily involving waste paper, waste textiles, broken glass and waste from rubber, plastics and wood. The realization of our intentions is hampered by a number of problems--limited investment capabilities, difficulties involved in acquiring machines and installations, and some unresolved questions involving the planning of prices and some legal provisions. The Ministry of Industry must--together with the ministries of construction, agriculture and together with the food processing industry and other areas--see one of its principal and permanent duties as being the better management of primary and secondary raw materials. The government will consistently control the fulfillment of this task.

Our construction workers also contributed to the generally good economic results. I would like to positive assess their share in the plan for apartment construction, in the construction of technical and sanitary facilities and in building large energy and transportation facilities. To better support the needs of the national economy it will be necessary to make changes in the structure of construction capacities, in perfecting their organization and management in the spirit espoused by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, more energetically than heretofore.

The problems of the agricultural-industrial complex were dealt with in more detail by the 16th Session of the Czech National Council in April of this year. The report by the Government of the CSR showed the influence of the good results in agricultural production upon the balance of the economy and the stability of the domestic market for foodstuffs. This favorable development, which is in harmony with the goals of our program proclamation, is continuing. The results of this year's high-volume harvest of grain crops should not, however, under any circumstances lessen the concern for the good quality of crop storage and correct management. We cannot permit waste even in the face of plenty.

The forest economy had to deal with extraordinarily unfavorable circumstances. Problems involving the harmful effects of industrial fly ash were joined in July and November of last year by the effects of tornado-type winds which caused windbreak damage which exceeded the total timber extraction plan for the entire year. With the assistance of national committees, organizations of the National Front and thanks to good organization of work, the damaged wood is being successfully processed and the output plan for extraction and renewal of forest areas is being successfully exceeded. We value the attained results but we cannot let up in the area involving the quality and future of our forests.

The water economy is also dealing with growing requirements. Even during the period of low rainfall during 1982-1983 we assured the continuous supply of the populace, of industry and agriculture with water. The water main and drainage system was expanded. The consumption of water is constantly rising as are the expenses involved in acquiring it. Good management of water resources--involving this significant component of our national wealth and environment--is considered by us to be one of the most important roles and we wish to orient the activities of production enterprises and national committees in this direction.

The situation on the domestic market has improved thanks to the good fulfillment of the tasks in agricultural production and due to the successful assurance of the plan in industrial enterprises. The selection of foodstuffs has become constantly more varied and is fully satisfying with respect to basic types of food. Given a sufficient amount of the principal raw materials, meat and milk, it is the duty of food industry enterprises to present new types of products on the market with more initiative and more rapidly than heretofore.

With respect to industrial goods it has been gradually possible to lower the number of inadequate products, to expand the assortment of domestically produced products and products derived from imports. We are unable, on a long-term basis, to master the demand for merchandise of an engineering character such as refrigerators, bicycles, sewing machines, some types of sporting goods. Shortages in the availability of consumer electronic products--both for the household as well as for the polytechnical education of young people--are felt particularly strongly. Consumers also express frequent reservations with respect to the quality and availability of timely repair services. With respect to products provided by sectors managed by us, justified reminders regarding the level of supply of fabrics and some types of footwear are heard. The Ministry of Trade and all its organizations will have to take a far more active part in promoting the interests of customers with producing components and will have to more consistently demand more rapid and more elastic approaches with respect to changes in demand. Every worker in our socialist trade enterprises should be conscious of his responsibility for the satisfaction of the population.

Together with our economy, extensive changes are affecting education and health, culture, social security and other areas. Care for the universal development and the happy life of man is the sense of all of our efforts. Only those who are well-prepared, physically capable and healthy, politically and morally mature and effective in culture and diligence, those who are equipped with modern scientific findings, willing to make the effort and devote their capabilities to social progress can meet their goals at the level of their requirements.

In recent years we have responsibly dealt with creating more effective prerequisites for increasing the qualifications and improving the proper deployment of manpower. Can we be satisfied with the small pay differences between productive and nonproductive workers, with the pleasant policy of mediocrity and with the overcautious evaluation of extraordinary contributions? With abuses which suit the slovenly and which repel honest and conscientious workers? We

must learn to better manage the qualification of people--this gross resource into which we have invested quite a bit. It is not egalitarian views, but efficiency which is the foundation of socialism.

The program for improving the economic effectivity of wages, the introduction of order into the norm system, is in harmony with the call by honest workers for the consistent application of the socialist principle of remuneration for work done. We have good experiences particularly with respect to those organizations where stereotypical approaches are being overcome and where new elements, particularly the brigade form of organizing work and paying for it are being applied. It turns out that strengthening the authority and responsibility of worker collectives in accepting and evaluating work tasks leads to higher productivity and to the desirable differentiation of results.

We are also concentrating on recruiting and stabilizing the work force for the North Bohemia Kraj, for the Sokolovo area, for the western Bohemian border area and for the capital city of Prague. It is not always simple to find and establish a new home for oneself. That is why the government has supported--and with not insignificant sums--the attractiveness of selected professions in these areas. We approached the problem of social policy in a comprehensive manner. We place special emphasis on the material, moral and societal reinforcement of the family. Through heightened concern for young married people, for children and their education, we are following the changes taking place in the existing unfavorable development of the population. Virtually every fourth citizen of the CSR receives a pension, which represents 38 billion korunas per year.

Not even care for the aged and for invalids, expressed in the all-societal program as "respect for older citizens" has been neglected. During the present 5-year plan some 6,300 places will be added in institutions of social welfare organizations.

Since 1981 we have made further progress in all schools in applying the goals of the Czechoslovak educational system. By introducing obligatory 10-year school attendance, by changing the content and methodology of instruction we are following the growth in the quality of the educational and training process and its closer connection with the requirements of practice. This cannot be done without new schools, new settlements, new hostels, new boarding facilities and without the goal-oriented modernization of the content and methods of instruction, without the universal application of new technology, particularly the program of electronification in education. The requirement for a more rapid application of scientific-technical progress does not diminish but rather enhances the standing of the teacher. His authority, his political and specialized efficiency should have, and will continue to have, an irreplaceable position in forming the socialist profile of the rising young generation.

Significant sums are expended for improvement of material conditions. During the 7th Five-Year Plan virtually 10 billion korunas were expended for construction of schools and school facilities. We opened 1,600 new schools, constructed dining halls, workshops, social halls and gymnasiums. We supported advanced schools with more than 2 billion korunas of investments. But life

does not stand still and science is developing ever more rapidly and even in the education system we cannot stay complacent with what has been achieved. From this standpoint the government is consistently evaluating the attained results and, on the basis of the findings made, as well as on the basis of newly arising needs, is adopting the necessary measures.

With respect to care for the health of the citizens, the premier said that the positive development in the health system is attested to by a number of facts. More than two-thirds of our workers have their own enterprise physician. Success in health sciences and in research were rewarded by state prizes; we have quite a few top work sites which have a world reputation. Part of our plans is also the construction of new hospitals and polyclinics and the modernization of older facilities.

This progress is valued by people and even foreign visitors speak of it with admiration. But not even in this area do we conceal shortcomings. There are differences in the approach by health workers, the equipment available at installations is also varied. The most complicated situation exists in Prague which has a shortage of hospital beds. The government evaluated this situation some months ago in detail and decided that Prague would gain an additional 3,000 hospital beds over the next 10 years. New doctors will also be needed in the North Bohemia Kraj where we wish to stabilize the number of qualified and conscientious specialists.

The government discussed the prospects of spa capacities and approved a harmonogram covering their construction and reconstruction over future years. The minister of public health regularly informs the government on the situation involving the availability of pharmaceuticals. We dealt with justified complaints concerning long delivery times and the quality of some health aids and substitutes which were brought out at the recent congresses of our handicapped fellow citizens. It is not possible to change everything in a short time. However, the situation demands that leading workers in production cooperatives, together with responsible officials at the Ministry of Health, take a far more energetic approach to remedy the present situation.

We are expending constantly more funds on health. We are aware of the complexity of this area which impacts upon sensitive sides of the life of each person. This is why we continue to return to these matters and seek ways of further improving these services in line with our possibilities.

A negative side of the process of civilization is the increased threat to nature and to the healthy environment, J. Korcak continued. This is one of the most serious questions of our time which we do not underestimate. We are not able to avoid all of these influences--some necessary investments are beyond our means and a number of matters have, so far, not been resolved in the rest of the world. We know how to clean water and the construction of wastewater purification plants is a component of the plan as well as being part of the election program. But we could be better off if every polluter were to fulfill his duty and if we could count on better understanding among machine-builders. It is also necessary to proceed with more resolve in the care of forests and in maintaining the fertility of the soil. We cannot permit a

further deterioration of the situation even if improvements cost society heavily. But a healthy person--together with the preservation of the quality of our nature for future generations and together with protecting the soil and construction projects--represents the most valuable resource.

The period of 3.5 years since the 6th Session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ confirmed the correctness of the orientation toward a growth of responsibility at national committee level for the comprehensive development of territorial entities, for strengthening their authority and for increasing their economic-organizational roles. This is demonstrated in the level of administration existing at key communities and municipalities, by the more initiative approach on the part of delegates as well as citizen committees. We have recorded partial changes for the better even in the area of paid services. Much was also in fulfilling the election programs. During 4 years some 238,000 new and modernized apartments were added to the inventory and 15 billion korunas worth of work will result from the investment portion of the "Z campaign" during the 5-year plan. Initiative and self-sacrifice by citizens have enriched cities and communities by the addition of schools, preschool facilities, playgrounds, sales outlets, service facilities, water distribution facilities and green areas.

During the past decade we in the government have been dealing with the problem of comprehensive territorial plans for the most important industrial regions and residential settlements in the CSR. We debated the long-range prospects of development for the industrial agglomerations in Prague, Ostrava, Brno, Plzen and Olomouc, as well as other territorial entities. The purpose of this joint work of the government and the kraj national committees is to improve conditions for a harmonious and efficient growth of production capacities, of urban construction and of the deployment of manpower within the framework of the republic. We are concerned with a more effective utilization of specific needs and possibilities of the individual regions and in strengthening the unity of territorial and industry viewpoints within the framework of socioeconomic planning. We are striving to eliminate unjustified differences and to gradually balance the living conditions for the populace.

Together with valuing the positive sides, we are aware of continuing shortcomings. Inconsistent concern for the apartment inventory, serious weaknesses in the work of enterprises involved in the housing economy, the slow and frequently arbitrary development of paid services, are becoming the object of public criticism.

Cases of laggardly elimination of disorder and inadequate concern with regard to the tidiness of public areas are no exception. More specific improvements are noted wherever the national committee has been able to recruit people for the common goal and, in the interest of municipal and community construction, agreed upon a unified approach involving economic and social organizations.

We utilize these findings in preparing new program documents for the National Front. In them we wish to devote attention to perfecting state administrations, ideological education and organizational activities and the development of activities on the part of the population. We place concern for the

environment, for better equipment of schools, better equipment of social, health facilities and improvements in the quality of paid services into the foreground. Even the government-approved principles of socialist competition between national committees are aimed in this direction.

At the initiative of our government a considerable amount of attention was devoted to lowering the administrative work load involved in management and administration. A verification of generally binding legal regulations and norms was accomplished and a certain reduction in the administrative work load was achieved. Even here it is necessary to openly admit that we stand at the very beginning with respect to our efforts to make administration more efficient and less costly.

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CSO: 2400/46

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRESS CRITICIZES TENNIS STAR IVAN LENDL

AU171059 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 11 October and Bratislava SMENA in Slovak and Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 12 October all carry commentaries critical of the tennis star Ivan Lendl. The commentaries respond to the fact that Lendl claimed to be too injured to represent Czechoslovakia in a Davis Cup tie against West Germany on 4 to 6 October, but was apparently healthy enough to beat both Connors and McEnroe in an exhibition tournament in the United States the following week.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 11 October on page 8 carries a 300-word commentary by Andrej Vodak entitled "A Miraculous Recovery." Vodak opens the commentary by citing statements made by Lendl to journalists in Frankfurt am Main about his "complicated injury" caused by "two numb fingers" on his right hand that would prevent him from playing against the German tennis player Boris Becker in the CSSR-West Germany Davis Cup tie. Vodak adds that West German journalists suspected immediately that Lendl merely "feigned" the injury and that they even overheard him saying to American journalists that "he was already looking forward to the matches next Tuesday."

Vodak goes on to say: "Lendl was in a hurry. He did not even await the end of the Davis Cup match and left Frankfurt am Main on Sunday morning. Reports coming from the United States suggest that Lendl has almost miraculously recovered from the pain in his hand, which threatened to endanger his career. According to a CTK report, in a tournament of the four best world players in East Rutherford he beat Connors easily 6:1, 6:3 and in the final went on to defeat McEnroe 7:5, 6:4.

"At the press conference in Frankfurt, Lendl said something about how important it was for him to represent the CSSR in the Davis cup. Presently, as soon as the time of lucratively prized tournaments came, he credibly convinced us 'how important' this really is for him....

"At any rate, he underwent a miraculous recovery. It is not difficult to guess what medicine drove away his pains."

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 12 October on page 8 carries a 400-word commentary by Tibor Lukac entitled "To Blush Is Too Little." Lukac says that to defeat players like Connors and McEnroe one needs a playing hand that is



"completely in order" and asks whether Lendl was telling the Czechoslovak Davis Cup coach the truth about his condition. Commenting on Lendl's statement that he feels the pain in his hand only after the match, Lukac says that "apparently, it paid for him to suffer, as the winner of the tournament [in East Rutherford] received more than one-half of the \$300,000 in prize money."

Lukac concludes the commentary by saying: "It would have been far more honest if Lendl did not come to the venue of the Davis Cup semifinals at all and openly declared: I am not interested in playing in this competition, nor do I want to represent the CSSR any longer. We would at least know where we stand; and he, too, would know it. Indeed, the time has come to say an energetic word. Lendl's juggling in this case has been only an amateurish act, ever in presented by a professional."

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 12 October on page 2 carries a 250-word commentary by Petr Majcharcik entitled "It Is Just a Feeling." Majcharcik says, among other things: "An athlete must not be reproached when he refuses to play because of injury or when he fails to live up to expectations for this reason. This is part of sports. But there exist rapid recoveries, which boggle the mind. We always rejoice when a Czechoslovak athlete achieves victory in the world. In this case, however, my feelings are different and I am probably far from being the only person with such feelings."

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CSO: 2400/52

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY ON CURRENT IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE IN CULTURE

AU161300 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 15 October carries on page 4 a 2,250-word article by Professor Vladimir Brozik, doctor of philosophy and sciences and lecturer of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, in the "On a Theoretical Topic" column. The article, entitled "Ideological Battle in the Sphere of Culture," begins by stating: "Even today certain people understand the ideological struggle merely as a conflict of opinions formed by individual social groups about themselves and about their position in the present world--as a polemic conducted on a certain 'theoretical' level, in which that side wins, which succeeds in convincing the others that its opinions alone agree with truth. This is a most implistic notion, one which separates the ideological struggle forcibly from the economic, and particularly the political, struggle; which understands the ideological struggle as an autonomous process of exchanging opinions and, in consequence, underrates not only the course of this struggle, but also its real, social impact. In spreading such illusions, Western propaganda is striving in particular to abuse the Helsinki agreements, especially their 'third basket,' and to create the impression that currently imperialism is solely concerned with the unimpeded spread of any and all opinions. But in reality the ideological struggle is waged not only for the people's thoughts, but above all for their behavior, for their value orientation, for the orientation of their creative activities, for their whole way of life."

Stating that this way of life does not depend merely on the people's opinions, but on objective conditions in which they have no choice, Brozik points out that a person can change his day-to-day life only after he realizes the inevitability of such a change and transforms this knowledge into an opinion with which he identifies himself. Ideology influences people's lives only when it enters the process of the reproduction and creation of their living conditions, Brozik continues; and in the socialist society the merging of ideology acts as a factor which helps a person to make decisions and to choose in advance the alternative programs of the cultural development of his own personality and of the entire society, he says. This naturally presumes a high cultural level of economy and politics, both of citizens and of society, Brozik continues, and thanks to this, cultural values and activities become the practical foundation of the functional nature of ideology.

He then elaborates on the "integration of differentiated activities of individuals in the direction of socially desirable goals," which is possible only on the basis of a high consciousmindedness based both on the realization of

the duty to act in a certain way, but also on the conviction, will, and endeavor to act thus, which are motivated by the attractiveness of cultural values; and this attractiveness always depends on the evaluating function of ideological norms, Brozik says, and adds: "Opinions which are alien to these cultural values, cause a breakdown in human behavior, and the organizers of antisocialist ideological campaigns know this very well."

"In a socialist society, culture is a factor which affirms the truth of scientific ideology as a norm of the people's everyday decisions," Brozik says; and cultural activities are constantly testing and enhancing the functional nature of scientific ideology. "This historically new tie between culture and ideology in socialist society is purposefully abused by hostile propaganda, which simultaneously keeps quiet about it in order to be able to present again and again the ideological commitment of our cultural policy as a phenomenon alien to culture, and in order to criticize socialism in a totally pharisaical manner from this position," he points out.

Ideology arranges cultural values in a system that is both socially and class-determined, and which makes certain values dominant, rejects and others completely, Brozik continues; in the ideological struggle, the bourgeoisie strives to make property values dominate, and the ideological battle takes on the form of conflicts of opinions in certain cultural values and behavior models. Since ideology also reflects and expresses man's ideas on what should be, it thus participates in formulating the goals of the people's activity and in selecting the means for achieving these goals, he states.

The system-creating feature of ideology depends on the social interests which it expresses, Brozik goes on to say; for instance, religious ideology tries to eliminate scientific culture from everyday life, recognizes in arts only what serves it, and reduces ethical culture to a system of general commandments. Moreover, Brozik adds, "hostile propaganda uses religious ideology even today to help disintegrate people's cultural activities, so as to evoke tension between the needs of the socialist society and the interests of its individual members--or else to place them at loggerheads."

Under capitalism, Brozik goes on to say, the individual cultural works, both material and spiritual, often hold opposing positions in the system of values of the exploiter and the exploited classes; and "the ideological struggle is conducted exactly for the place which the social subject gives to this or that cultural value in his mind, and particularly in his activity." Any appraisal of culture and of its individual components is in essence ideological, Brozik says, because it depends on the opinion adopted by the social subject and thus cannot be unprejudiced, since the subject always identifies himself with a certain social group. In the socialist cultural revolution, he adds, we consider the spreading of the scientific world outlook to be the most important task in developing the forms of culture.

After saying that nonscientific ideologies, for instance the ideology of a consumer-oriented way of life, make even the most precious cultural values into fetishes on which man is dependent (for instance the obligatory enthusiasm for, or ownership of, certain fashionable works of art belongs

to the role played by a person in the consumer society), Brozik states that conventions lead to a demand for cultural values which is the very opposite of cultural needs, "because it is the result of forcing people to engage in activities which reproduce their dependence on the reigning norms of the ownership society." The satisfaction of man's cultural needs enriches him, whereas the satisfaction of the demand for certain cultural values mostly serves to distract attention from the needs of the people's development proper, Brozik continues: "that is why nonscientific ideology finds itself in conflict with the truthful appraisal of reality, and also with cultural value orientations. Ideology that is hostile to socialism cannot only disorient people, it can literally 'empty' their value orientations and turn them into nonsense, even though they are orientations toward cultural values."

This, Brozik continues, is the ideological foundation of the so-called mass culture, with its typical uniform reaction of large numbers of people to certain cultural stimuli, such as "pop music" and similar kinds of mass entertainment "which turn a cultural experience into mass hysterics." In the ideological struggle, he says, the position of scientific ideology is complicated by the fact that simple recipes on what to do, and when, are often more attractive to people than the demands of scientific ideology for a never-ending development of one's own cultural needs. Without scientific ideology, Brozik goes on to say, it is impossible to harmonize these needs with all-social interests, while simultaneously ensuring their differentiation; thus, "for socialism, scientific ideology is both a cultural, and an economic and political inevitability. For this reason the ideological struggle is currently conducted not only against opinions that are alien to socialism, but also against any and all kinds of stupidity and indolence--including those which are sanctified by the hostile ideologies which present them as the visiting card and proof of the free implementation of 'human rights'."

Brozik then states that the entire course of the socialist cultural revolution is, above all, an ideological battle against the vestiges of the past in people's minds and in their behavior, in their attitudes to other people and to the cultural values at society's disposal. "It is a struggle," he continues, "which cannot be ended in a historically brief period. That is why it continues also in our own country, 40 years after the liberation, and why it is acquiring extraordinary intensity." This process is difficult and complicated, he says, because class prejudices and illusions disappear not with the disappearing classes, but only when the last memory of these classes disappears; "and we still have a long way to go to achieve this; apart from other things, also because we're living in the immediate vicinity of capitalist countries. This process is important because it not only culminates, and thus cements, the political and economic conditions already achieved by socialist society, but also because it establishes the best possible conditions for the truly best possible use of these historically new conditions of the people's existence not only for the development of every individual, but also of the entire society. "That," Brozik concludes, "is why the ideological battle is conducted today with such urgency and intensity in the sphere of culture in particular."

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CSO: 2400/52

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### NEED FOR IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION OF MUSIC

AU081059 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 3 October carries on page 4 a 1,000-word Michal Palovcik article in the "Readers' Letters" column, entitled "View on Music and on Upbringing Through Music." Elaborating on the important role played in the life of society by musical art, Palovcik says that "certain entertainment genres also encounter aversion, especially among the members of the older generation, because popular music with animated rhythms and a loud volume prevails out of all proportion in certain 'good morning' programs on the radio." The Prague radio programs, Palovcik continues, are more reasonable than the Bratislava radio program, which are not as loud as the programs from Bystrica or Kosice--obviously much depends on the the "good taste" of the editor preparing the program. "It seems that, generally, too much scope is given to popular music in our life," he says, and quotes a letter from Dr Jozef Tvrdon from Bratislava on the undeserved glorification of pop-music "stars", whereas many great composers do not receive appropriate social recognition.

Palovcik then quotes Lubomir Wagner from Banska Bystrica, who criticizes rock music concerts, pointing out that "selected groups and a well set-up program with ideological orientation against war and armament and for preserving peace among the peoples have full social support."

After elaborating on the well-developed leisure activities in the sphere of music in Slovakia, Palovcik concludes by urging the organizers of various concerts and entertainment programs to establish contact with appropriate official agencies and organizations, which offer "art which is the source of shaping the thoughts and feelings of contemporary man."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

CSSR, JAPAN PRESS AGENCY AGREEMENT--Tokyo, Oct 18 (CTK correspondent)--In an effort to effectively contribute to the exchange of information between Czechoslovakia and Japan and to create concrete conditions for better knowledge between the nations of the two countries, CTK Director General Otakar Svercina and president of the Japanese KYODO agency Shinji Sakai signed a new agreement on cooperation here today. The representatives of the two agencies discussed all optimal ways of expanding mutual information and noted that in this way they can best contribute to the strengthening of cooperation and understanding between nations. The CTK director general also held talks here today with Yukio Matsuyama, president of the editorial board of the largest Japanese newspaper ASAHI SHIMBUN on concrete measures of providing systematic and objective information to the readers of this daily with the biggest circulation on political, economic and cultural events in Czechoslovakia and other countries of the socialist community. Otakar Svercina, who is also a deputy of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, was received here by Yuji Osada, executive director of the parliamentary League of Japanese-Czechoslovak Friendship, deputy of the upper chamber of the Japanese Parliament. They spoke in favour of the continuation of well-tested contacts between the legislative assemblies of the two countries. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1942 GMT 18 Oct 85 LD] /6662

POPE'S MESSAGE TO SLOVAK CHURCH--(ANSA)--Vatican, October 25--The pope has sent a telegram expressing solidarity to a Slovak (?Bishop) in Rome who was not allowed by Prague officials to return home to attend his mother's funeral. Msgr Paolo Hnilica, 64, has been living in Rome for many years and is involved in helping Slovak exiles and emigrants in the West. Journalistic sources believed Prague refused the prelate entry because he has made many statements in the past, critical of the regime, charging that it persecutes the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia. [Text] [Rome ANSA in English 0830 GMT 25 Oct 85 AU] /6662

SRV-CSSR JOB TRAINING PROTOCOL--Hanoi, VNA October 23--A protocol on job training cooperation between Vietnam and Czechoslovakia was signed in Prague on October 22 by Miloslav Soda, Czechoslovak minister of labour and social affairs, and Hong Long, director of the Vietnam general department of job training. The protocol stipulates for the training and upgrading of Vietnamese students and technical workers on practice at various offices and enterprises in Czechoslovakia in 1986. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1614 GMT 23 Oct 85 OW] /6662

INDIA TRADE TALKS--Frantisek Langer, first deputy minister of foreign trade, has completed talks in Delhi on stepping up economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and India. Both sides also discussed opportunities for some new cooperation trends. Czechoslovakia offered its participation in implementing certain projects in the metallurgical and power industries, in building gas pipelines and developing the chemical industry in India. India expressed interest in increasing its traditional exports of cotton, animal feeds, and engineering goods. [Text] [Prague International Service in Czech and Slovak 0800 GMT 19 Oct 85 LD] /6662

CYPRUS BROADCAST AGREEMENT--Jan Risko, director general of Czechoslovak Radio, and Dhimitrios Kiprianou, director general of Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation, signed in Prague today an agreement on cooperation between Czechoslovak Radio and Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation. The agreement presupposes exchange of materials, help in organizing trips to the partner's country and reciprocal exchange of employees. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 21 Oct 85 LD] /6662

CSO: 2400/52

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TREATY TIES WITH USSR REVIEWED, EXTOLLED

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 18, No 10, Oct 85 (signed to press  
30 Sep 85) pp 3-4

[Article by Dr Egon Winkelmann, SED Central Committee member, GDR ambassador  
to the USSR: "GDR--USSR: Forever Firmly Bound"]

[Text] On 7 October our republic celebrated two important events: the 36th anniversary of its establishment and the 10th anniversary of the signing of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the GDR and the USSR. This is reason for joy and the impetus to mention two items which recently ran in the press: the Lauchhammer Heavy Machine Enterprise delivered 500 freight cars along with the newly developed bucket-wheel excavator and started them on their 8,000-km-long journey to Kansk-Achinsk in Siberia; the equipment was developed for use in extremes of temperature ranging from -40° to +40° C in the most significant brown coal strip mine in the Soviet Union. Simultaneously, the first railroad ferry boat was launched at Wismar and will run between Mukran and Klaypeda as of fall 1986; this will lead to still further declines in transport costs. These are two reports which attest to the peaceful commerce between our two countries which is worth billions--two countries which have had the closest fraternal ties for 40 years.

Aid and Mutual Cooperation

We all still remember the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people from Nazi rule. Forty years ago the path toward the establishment of the GDR and its successful development was opened. In the 1950's and 1960's the Soviet Union made raw materials, materials and the most varied technologies available to the GDR as comprehensive assistance in the development and reconstruction of many vital enterprises and the heavy industry. It helped the first worker and peasant state in German history to fend off the attacks of imperialism, to overcome the economic and diplomatic blockade which was aimed against it and in attaining a new socialist society. The diligent work of the workers of the GDR, the connection between the accomplishments of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist order, the deepening of cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, the development of worldwide trade within the framework of Leninist policies of peaceful coexistence, led to strengthening the international position of the GDR which



developed into a world-renowned socialist country. Added to this was the policy of detente of the states of the Warsaw Pact, the European treaty organization, the Helsinki Conference on Security.

All of this has its reflection in the historic friendship treaty of 7 October 1975. It was preceded by the conclusion of the treaty on relations between the GDR and the USSR, dated 20 September 1955, a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance and cooperation, dated 12 June 1964, the creation of a government commission on parity in March 1966, the July 1971 comprehensive program for further deepening and perfection of cooperation and development of socialist economic integration among CEMA member countries, which gave a new impetus to bilateral cooperation between the GDR and the USSR.

#### SED and CPSU--The Propelling Forces Behind the Relationship

The close cooperation between both fraternal parties, as specified in Article 3 of the friendship treaty--is particularly reflected in the results of the meetings between the general secretaries of the central committees of both parties, which have become a regular practice. They serve the mutual exchange of views in an exemplary manner, just as they serve to coordinate internal and foreign policy. Thus, during the most recent meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev, on 5 May 1985, the status and prospects for development of relationships between the GDR and the USSR were discussed and it was determined to perfect cooperation in the solution of national economic tasks, primarily in the main direction of scientific-technical progress still more. Simultaneously, during an exchange of opinions on topical questions pertaining to the international situation, the urgent task of ending the arms race on earth and preventing its expansion into space was stressed.

Meetings between members of the politburos and secretaries of the central committees of the SED and the CPSU take place regularly and serve to exchange experiences with respect to leadership activities of both parties. Study delegations collect experiences, exchange information pertaining to the solution of selected questions and intensify personal contacts. This is true for all areas of political, economic and ideological work on the part of both parties. At the center of joint theoretical work stands the quest for ways in which the national and international interests can be optimally used in establishing the new society, can be harmoniously connected and ways in which the generally applicable legalities of the establishment of socialism can be applied within the framework of specific historic conditions applicable in each socialist country. The training of cadres at facilities of both fraternal parties, partnership relationships between bezirk party organizations of the SED and the republic, regional and municipal committees of the CPSU, collaboration between state organizations and social organizations, and the exchange of worker brigades round out the picture.

#### Coordinated International Approach

The coordination of all important questions of world policy is a core point of the friendship treaty of 1975. The GDR considers close cooperation with the USSR in the international arena and its firm inclusion in the socialist

community of states to be a decisive pledge of secure progress on the path to the further establishment of a developed socialist society. The citizens of the GDR consider it their international duty to make a maximum contribution to the forging of the unity and cohesiveness of the states of the socialist community. This is all the more true in light of the persistent worrisome exacerbation of the world situation which has been caused by the adventurous and peace-endangering confrontation course adopted by reactionary imperialist forces. Currently, it is therefore especially necessary and also possible to bring together all those forces which honestly desire peace and act to secure it.

In August 1985, at a meeting with units of the air force/air defense forces, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, stressed that "in accordance with the coordinated foreign, security and military policy of the socialist community, the GDR is using all of its forces and possibilities to see to it that the present and the future generation is spared the horrors of war, that our people can pursue their peaceful daily work, that not confrontation but mutually advantageous cooperation characterize the relationship between states. This naturally also holds true with respect to the formation of our relationships with the Federal Republic of Germany. In this regard we will not permit ourselves to be confused by those who fantasize about the 'continuation of the German Reich within the borders of 1937' and who want to bar the way to such a policy of peace."

The countries of the socialist community stand at the head of the struggle against nuclear death. Side by side with all peace-loving forces of the world the GDR is making its active contribution in order to realize the peace policy of the socialist community of states and to bring about a change for the better in international relations. The proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, are suited to still further open the doors to a halt in, and dismantling of, nuclear armaments. The GDR emphatically supports the proposals and initiatives of the Soviet Union, such as the unilateral halting of all nuclear explosions through 1 January 1986 and the unilateral moratorium on the stationing of Soviet medium-range missiles through November 1985.

Developments since the conclusion of the friendship treaty of 1975 clearly show that: supported by its definitions, the Soviet Union, as the principal force of peace and socialism, and the GDR, together with the other socialist countries, are rendering an important contribution toward the reinforcement of peace and security, toward the guarding of mankind against the dangers of a nuclear catastrophe.

#### Close Economic Involvement

In connection with the forthcoming high dynamic rate of economic development in the GDR, Erich Honecker, speaking at the 10th Session of the Central Committee of the SED, stressed that: "for this long-term undertaking there exists a stable base in the agreements on intensifying scientific-technical and economic collaboration with the Soviet Union. We will continue to make an active contribution toward the development of socialist economic integration, as

called for in the resolutions of the CEMA country economic conference on the highest level."

Economic collaboration between the GDR and the Soviet Union is characterized by comradely support and mutual advantages. The economic and scientific-technical relationship and the resulting tasks and requirements are part and parcel of the respective national economic plans and are of a binding character with respect to the state and economic organizations of both countries. This lends this kind of cooperation a certain dynamics from the very beginning and a high degree of stability. Starting from this point, the party and state leaderships of both countries have always devoted the maximum attention to the involvement of their national economies. This is the basis upon which the long-term program of cooperation in science, technology and production through the year 2000, which was signed on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the establishment of the GDR, rests. In accordance with the economic-strategic goal-setting by the SED and the CPSU, as well as in accordance with the resolutions of the CEMA Economic Summit, the intensification of socialist production makes up the main content of the economic relationships between the GDR and the USSR. In the foreground of this cooperation, therefore, there stand the measures for the rapid increase in productivity of labor, for economizing and the rational utilization of energy, raw materials and materials, for the broad application of secondary raw materials, for the development of technological solutions and facilities for the reconstruction and modernization of available production capacities, as well as for significant increases in the technical level and the quality of products.

At the most recent Leipzig Fall Fair Erich Honecker was able to say: "This mutual involvement will increase still further in the future along the path of intensification, of acceleration of scientific and technical progress and of the more goal-oriented utilization of its economic results, both in the GDR as well as in the USSR. This involvement is destined to become a decisive growth factor in economic and social development in each of our countries even more strongly than heretofore."

In this spirit, bilateral scientific-technical cooperation will be set in the following directions: development of the energy industry, creation and introduction of new, more effective technologies, development of microelectronics, robotics, automation of production processes, expansion of the assortment of high-quality mass-consumption goods, strengthening of the material-technical base for agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, increasing the technical level and improving the quality of products subject to deliveries by either side.

These goals are also served by the stable, long-term agreed-upon export of goods from the GDR to the USSR and the long-range assurance of GDR receipts of raw materials, energy resources and modern equipment. If, in 1975, foreign trade turnover "only" amounted to 5.4 billion rubles, this figure will rise to 15 billion rubles in 1985. Work of the combines, the export and foreign trade enterprises of the GDR is aimed at fulfilling the GDR's export equipment to the USSR on a continuing basis, with respect to the appropriate quality and deadlines, at improving technical services and at reliably assuring the

availability of spare parts. The combines and enterprises of the GDR are adjusting their capacities consistently to the needs of the USSR and are creating their production and export structure accordingly. Thus, the continuous economic cooperation between both countries is being expanded and perfected on the basis of the 1975 friendship treaty.

#### Cultural High Points

A new quality dimension in the mental and cultural process of rapprochement has been achieved with the plans for cultural and scientific cooperation for the years 1976 through 1980 and 1981 through 1986 which were signed on the basis of the friendship agreement. The communique covering the meeting at the highest levels between representatives of the GDR and the USSR, in May 1983, stressed that it is important to further elevate the effectivity of the cultural exchange. Great efforts are being expended to realize this requirement.

A political and cultural high point was represented by the Days of Culture of the GDR in the USSR in October 1984, which were dedicated to the 35th anniversary of the GDR. These celebrations culminated in an impressive manifestation of the unswerving friendship between the GDR and the USSR, confirmed the close combat alliance between the SED and the CPSU. The Days of Culture of the USSR in the GDR, which took place on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people, were an equally successful and important contribution to the fortification and deepening of the friendship concept between our fraternal countries. They enriched the cultural life and imbued it with a multiplicity of new impulses.

#### Development of Direct Relations

Direct relations between collectives in industry, agriculture, transportation and the mass organizations and friendship organizations of the GDR and the USSR have developed successfully.

At the 26th Party Congress of the CPSU it was stated, among others: "We know, for example, ... what valuable experiences exist in the GDR with respect to the rationalization of production and saving of energy, raw materials and materials.... Let us study the experiences of the fraternal countries with more attention and apply them on a broader scale."

Thousands of workers at similar enterprises and installations in the GDR and in the Soviet Union are in constant contact at present on the basis of specific agreements made in the above spirit in order to realize the resolutions of the SED and the CPSU jointly and in order to make ever more comprehensive use of the frequently close partnerships involved. The most widespread is the exchange of delegations for studying the experiences of the partner nation. At the center there stand the tasks of making a transition to the intensively expanded reproduction from the standpoint of a given enterprise and the concomitant questions of the mastery of the appropriate science and equipment, the increase in the profitability of production, the rise in labor productivity, an increase in the more rational use of raw materials and other materials, as well as questions of material and energy conservation and questions of

adequate utilization of production capacities. In other words: connections with the Soviet Union have become an everyday occurrence for millions of GDR citizens.

In this respect some outstanding work has been done by the Society for German-Soviet Friendship. For example, its 12th congress levied the requirement on its more than 6.5 million members to still more clearly elaborate Soviet peace policy, to still further develop the unanimous faith of all our citizens in friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union in concert with specific actions and to raise cultural and mass political work in the society to a new level.

The friendship treaty of 7 October 1975 has become an important contractual component of the present system of international relations, an instrument for bringing the GDR and the USSR closer together, a world political factor of fortifying peace and security. The GDR is, for all time, tied to the USSR in indestructible friendship. It is firmly anchored in the socialist community. As Erich Honecker stressed on the 35th anniversary of the establishment of the GDR, "this is the decisive foundation for its prosperity during the past ... decades and for its future progress. We can state to our special joy that friendship with the Soviet Union has become, as Wilhelm Pieck once said, a matter of the heart for our people."

The 11th Party Congress of the SED and the 27th Party Congress of the CPSU signal a new and higher degree of development of socialism in the GDR and in the Soviet Union. A strong socialism is inevitable in order to safeguard peace and the well-being of both nations and to raise the well-being of all socialist countries still further. There is probably nothing more beautiful and more important than to participate in this process in accordance with one's capabilities.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GREATER COSTS, INCREASED TRAINING WITH NEW MILITARY TECHNOLOGY

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5 1985 (signed to press 10 Jul 85) pp 228-229

[Article by Col Prof Dr S. Schoenherr: "Military Economic Aspects of the People-Technology Relationship"]

[Text] Contribution to a discussion at a conference of the social sciences section of the Friedrich Engels Military Academy.

So that any military aggression of an imperialist adversary will be a deadly risk for this adversary, the armed forces of real socialism must be in a position to fulfill their class mission successfully at any time. Socialist military power can be an effective factor in the struggle for the preservation of peace only when this is guaranteed.

As you know, the basic elements of armed combat are people and the equipment that they use.<sup>1</sup> Viewed in military economic terms, it involves, on the one hand, part of society's work capacity: the number of members of the army and civilian employees expresses the quantitative side of the work capacity and their educational level and political-moral state express its qualitative side.

On the other hand, military technology, as a basic element of armed combat, represents a part of the national wealth of our people in the form of a quantity of basic military resources determined by defense requirements. For their use, additional defense resources such as material output or expendable military supplies are needed. The latter should in no way be underestimated. A modern battle would, for example, be characterized by the fact that substantially more expendable supplies would have to be employed than at the time of World War II.

As for industrial repair work, its share of industry's work and deliveries for the economic support of national defense is already increasing. So higher demands on the amount and quality of expendable supplies and material output are objective symptoms of the technological development in the armed forces. The influence of these resources on the operability of the combat and support equipment is continuing to increase.

There is also a greater and greater tendency for even expendable military supplies, for example, to take on the character of complex equipment, as in the case of certain types of ammunition. Just through their use, there is often an occurrence of the same or similar people-technology relationships as in the utilization of main combat equipment.

So the basic elements of armed combat--people and military equipment--also have an economic manifestation. They represent social work capacity or basic military resources. Additional defense resources are necessary for their functioning. In each case, these different defense resources have quite specific reproduction characteristics.

Through multiple factors, not least through constant advanced development of material production, there is a continuous intensification of the connection between people and military technology and thus between the different defense resources as well. That is seen, among other things, in the fact that, in the fulfillment of the NVA [National People's Army] class mission, an essentially constant number of army members is opposed by a quantity of military equipment that is tending to rise rapidly, as measured against the socially necessary expenditures for its development, production, introduction and utilization.

"Translated" into military economic terms, that means: in the NVA as well, we must ensure the expanded reproduction of the basic military resources necessary for the preservation of the approximate military strategic balance between NATO and the countries of the Warsaw Pact with only a simple reproduction of the quantitative side of the work capacity needed for their utilization. In the daily routine of the troops, that means, for example, solving new tasks with often new equipment and thereby, generally speaking, getting along with the same number of manpower slots.

These diametrically opposed growth trends of the two main elements of armed combat--people and military equipment or work capacity and basic military resources--very definitely characterize the relationships between people and technology in military affairs.

Thus the interrelationships between people and military technology are very stratified and very complex, especially from the point of view of their intensification at the present time. Accordingly, their analysis and formation are the object of investigation by several sciences, including military economics, among others. In our view, often too little consideration is given to this fact. The danger exists that military economic requirements will be underestimated in the formation of the relationships between people and technology.

Which military economic aspects are included in the people-technology relationship in military affairs and how should one proceed in the military economic analysis of this relationship?

In the first place: every kind of military equipment is the result of productive work and represents objective productive forces that are used for a

specific nonproductive purpose: to guarantee secure military protection. To fulfill this social function, military technology in its use departs, in a sense, from the general economic cycle of the continual renewal and expansion of socialist production. It is consumed in a specific manner.

There are no direct productive repercussions thereby or they are only slight. So there is a dialectical contradiction: military technology represents economic resources whose expanded reproduction has become a direct prerequisite for the further formation of the developed socialist society and for the further implementation of a policy for the good of the people. But at the same time, this establishes certain limits for the pace and the scope of the realization of this policy and for the realization of the strategic economic course of the 10th SED Congress in its unity of economic and social policy. As a rule, better combat characteristics of the armament and equipment are "bought" with a growing application of national income in production or in imports. In recent times, the relationship between combat effectiveness and costs for up-to-date military equipment has often changed very abruptly to the disadvantage of the latter component.

What military economic consequences does that have for the formation of the relationships between people and technology?

The party and state leadership provides as much combat equipment, armament and other equipment for the NVA class mission as is militarily necessary and economically feasible. Both conditions must be seen. In the current state of socialist development and in today's international situation, that means: not a mark too little must be spent for military purposes; but it must and cannot be a mark too much either.

The military technical policy of the socialist state is determined by overall social requirements. The military requirements are included therein. Thus the expression of the relationships between people and technology, such as in the formation of the class standpoint of being able to fight and wanting to be victorious in combat, must occur on the basis of the possible, the existing military technology. And, to a large extent, this "existing" is obviously the most up-to-date military equipment. But a not insignificant portion of it will be less modern, especially in the case of certain support equipment. Accordingly, it is nothing short of an inherent military economic law that better results must be achieved in tactical training, in the ready-alert system, and in combat or border duty with both the most up-to-date equipment as well as older military equipment. In the expression of the relationships between people and technology, then, there is no escaping the fact that several generations of equipment are in use at any one time.

In the second place: in the scope of its use, military technology as a result of productive social work is included, in turn, in a work process--that of military activity. Military technology becomes a decisive means in this work process and thus, along with the "purposefulness" and the "work object," it becomes a third essential element of military activity. Accordingly, seen in military economic terms, it represents consumption of national wealth and thus reproduction activity. It completes the cycle of the bringing forth and utilization of defense resources; the military economic reproduction process



is closed. The members of the army are thereby entering into economic relations and production relations, even though they are derived.

Accordingly, economic laws and inherent military economic laws are at work in the military economic reproduction process as well as in its consumption phase, into which military activity is integrated.<sup>2</sup> Also at work is the law of the economy of time, whose requirements must be put into effect.

The military activity in which people and military equipment cooperate is not primarily a military economic process at all. It is the field of influence of the laws of warfare and armed combat. For this reason, one should avoid any "undue economic categorization" of military activity and the people-technology relationships that exist there.

To the extent, however, that military activity represents the utilization of defense resources, resembling a work process in the political economic sense, and economic relationships exist there, it receives an economic content as well. When today, for example, tactical training is increasingly characterized by processes of the maintenance and repair of military equipment and only the complex formation of these processes makes possible its use, than logically that produces multiple military economic requirements.

What are the military economic consequences of this for the formation of the relationships between people and technology?

The army member's handling of military equipment and his class attitude in this connection imply the attempt to guarantee the greatest effectiveness.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, the formation of relationships between people and technology also means that one will always take the approach of achieving the best possible military results with the least possible economic expense. That is simultaneously a military necessity and an economic requirement.

Military economic theory reflects such facts in the category "military economic effectiveness of military activity." It includes the guarantee of high military economic effectiveness in the formation of relationships between people and technology. Accordingly, it is not simply the utilization of up-to-date military equipment that is involved in the military activity but a very definite quality of this equipment. The best possible military result is to be achieved with the combat equipment, armament and other equipment that has been made available and with the expendable supplies and services provided for this purpose.

The situation is often reversed: the ordered military task is to be fulfilled with the least possible utilization of forces and resources. Both aspects are reflected in the orders and service regulations--as, for example, in the requirement that utilization periods be observed or exceeded when justified or that one remain below consumption standards. Thus the relationships between people and military technology are also relationships characterized by high military economic effectiveness.

In the third place: the military activity in which the army member utilizes military technology to ensure high combat effectiveness and readiness

represents--according to what has been said thus far--socially useful work. Proceeding from the military necessities, it is also characterized by the respective specific requirements for the formation of the economy of developed socialism.

For our republic, intensification was established as the main path of economic development in the party program adopted by the Ninth SED Congress. A new stage in the realization of the economic strategy has been initiated with the decisions of the Seventh Central Committee Conference. It is now a matter of making intensification comprehensive and of ensuring stable bases for its long-term development in all areas of society. The pivotal point is the fact that specific material consumption must decline faster than production increases. With increased production, for example, the absolute consumption of energy sources, raw materials and other materials in 1983 was 9.1 percent lower than in 1980. Intensification is thus a specific form of raising efficiency. The best possible results are to be achieved with existing resources. Intensification has become the main method for increasing efficiency.

This too has military economic consequences for the formation of the relationships between people and technology.

Greater efficiency in the utilization of up-to-date military equipment is not to be secured through just any of the possible means but through a quite special means: primarily through the intensive utilization (including the corresponding preventive maintenance) and repair of combat equipment, armament and other equipment.

That is reflected in the demand of the army leadership that must be put into effect consistently: the increase in combat effectiveness and readiness made necessary by the confrontation course of the most aggressive NATO circles is to be met with less growth or even a decline in the overall use of resources. That corresponds to our party's strategic economic orientation for the second half of the 1980's.

But we are thereby also at a turning point in the expression of the economic ways of thinking and acting of socialist military personnel and, accordingly, we have reached a certain breaking point in the implementation of military economic aspects in the relationships between people and technology. Greatly simplified, the problem presents itself as follows: for decades, it was typical of socialist armed forces that the growing demands on their combat effectiveness were accompanied by an increase in defense resources (material and financial resources, services and time funds). That corresponded to the type of the extensively expanded reproduction of national wealth, which was characteristic for the economy until the 1970's.

Military constraints of modern combat and national economic requirements now demand different ways of thinking and other principles of conduct. Required is a new quality of military economic thinking and action. This military economic requirement permeates the people-technology relationships in a heretofore unknown way. To a considerable extent, we are already doing justice to this requirement through many soldiers' initiatives such as "Make

the First Shot Count," "Equipment of Outstanding Quality," and others. Above all, then, increased effectiveness in the formation of people-technology relationships means a more intensive utilization of combat equipment, armament and other equipment.

What are the conclusions to be drawn?

--The consideration of military economic aspects in the people-technology relationships of the socialist armed forces cannot be departmental concern of economists or military economists or of certain military economic entities working in practice. Strictly speaking, it is actually a matter of people-technology-economy relationships that are to be developed. The criterion of effectiveness permeates all facets of the relationships between people and technology. Everyone involved with this dialectic in theory or in practice must pay attention to this criterion. Today, as a rule, the military economic aspect has a growing and direct influence on the results of military activity.

--The military technical propaganda in the NVA must not be construed too narrowly. The ensuring of the greatest efficiency, above all by way of intensification, should be the integrating component of this side of our propaganda activity. Conversely, it must also be shown in military economic propaganda that the utilization of defense resources in the interest of high combat effectiveness always includes the formation of people-technology relationships as well. For both military technical propaganda and military economic propaganda, it must be assumed that the necessary training of army members to think and act in military economic terms is an important aspect of the political-moral and psychological preparation of army members for the fulfillment of their class task and is thus an integral part of the political and ideological work of all superiors.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. A.B. Pupko, "People System," MILITAERTECHNIK, Berlin, 1979, p 9 and following pages.
2. Team of authors, "Oekonomie und Landesverteidigung" [Economics and National Defense], Berlin, 1984, p 63 and following pages.
3. Team of authors, "Oekonomie und Landesverteidigung in unserer Zeit" [Economics of National Defense in Our Time], Berlin, 1985, p 91 and following pages.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HISTORY, STATISTICS OF POLITICAL PARTIES REVIEWED

Potsdam STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 34 No 7, Jul 85 (signed to press 31 May 85) pp 546-555

[Article by Prof Dr Kurt Schneider, of the Department for Scientific Communism at the Karl-Marx-University in Leipzig, Dr Richard Mand, and Dr Carola Schulze, both of the GDR Academy for Political and Legal Sciences: "The Alliance of Parties and the Socialist State--Reflections on the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Formation of the Anti-fascist-Democratic Bloc"]

[Text] One of the outstanding achievements of the German Democratic Republic in the field of politics and civics consists in the cooperation of all political parties and the most important mass organizations under the leadership of the SED in the organs of the state power, the Democratic Bloc and the GDR National Front. As a specific form of political organization for the realization of the alliance of parties and mass organization, the Bloc has demonstrated its value in the 40 years of democratic and socialist construction. It has become an element of democracy and popular sovereignty.

The initial conditions were created when the Soviet Army and other armed forces of the anti-Hitler coalition liberated the German people from Hitler fascism, and when order No 2 of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany provided for the early admission of democratic parties and mass organizations.(1)

Based on the popular front policy developed by the Seventh Comintern World Congress in 1935, the KPD had created the foundations for the wide ranging cooperation of all anti-fascist-democratic forces in many years of theoretical and practical work, at its conferences in Brussels (1935) and Berne (1939) as well as in the illegal resistance struggle in the country and the National Committee "Free Germany."(2) By its appeal of 11 June 1945 (3), the KPD submitted a program, on the basis of which all anti-fascists were able to agree on joint action. "Imperatively needed is the creation of a solid unity of democracy for the final liquidation of Nazism and the construction of a new and democratic Germany. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany is of the opinion that the above program for action may serve as the basis for the establishment of a bloc of anti-fascist and democratic parties (the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Center Party, and so on). We believe that such a bloc may represent a solid foundation in the

struggle for the complete liquidation of the residues of the Hitler regime and the building of a democratic regime."(4)

The KPD's aim of producing a broad anti-fascist-democratic alliance did not signify the negation of the fundamental differences between the ideology of the working class and that of the other classes and strata nor the intention of denying their specific interests and traditions or making them give up their independence. The objective was that of setting the common features in the views and interests of the various class forces above the separating influences in order to confront the fascist and imperialist ideology with a coherent intellectual front. The KPD recognized the existence of objective and common political and social interests in the working class and its allies.(5)

In addition to the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), the Christian-Democratic Union of Germany (CDU) and the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD) had been reestablished or freshly constituted. The KPD thereupon promptly seized the initiative for organizational cooperation. The formation of the "United Front of Anti-fascist-Democratic Parties" (anti-fascist-democratic Bloc) by the KPD, SPD, LDPD and CDU on 14 July 1945(6) demonstrated "that success had been achieved for the first time in focusing on the common concerns of all democratic forces, the struggle for an anti-fascist-democratic state which, in its domestic and foreign policy, would remember the lessons of history and embark on a new approach."(7) The Bloc recommended all regions, districts, kreises and municipalities to combine for the common work of reconstruction, exactly as had been done at the central level.(8) The establishment and work of the anti-fascist-democratic Bloc was the logical continuation of the common struggle against fascism of communists, social democrats, Christians and other democratic forces.

In view of the many distortions and some downright lies about the SED's political alliance with friendly parties, it is revealing from the standpoint of history that the democratic principles agreed in July 1945 for cooperation in a central bloc and all bloc committees (participation of equal numbers of representatives from each party, rotation of the chairmanship, unanimity of bloc decisions and statements) have remained firm basic principles of the work of the Democratic Bloc. Right from the start, bloc cooperation (which later included the new parties DBD [Democratic Peasant Party of Germany] and NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] as well as the FDGB, the FDJ, the DFD [Democratic Women's League of Germany] was preoccupied with the establishment of a firm peace system and the evolution of anti-fascist democracy. That, however, was a difficult process, featuring contradictions and contrasts as well as vehement debates, because bourgeois-democratic and bourgeois-parliamentary conceptions of constitution and democracy still prevailed among the members of the CDU and LDPD. This was particularly pronounced in the discussion of the draft Laender constitutions and the preparation and conduct of the 1946/1947 elections to the local people's representations and land assemblies. Objections to the SED draft for the Laender constitutions were raised in the course of the discussions in the central bloc committee and counter proposals submitted, which reflected fundamentally oppositional opinions by the leaderships of these parties in the constitutional sphere.(9)

The discussions and debates conducted in the anti-fascist-democratic Bloc, the bloc committees of Laender, kreises, cities and communities helped to gradually overcome bourgeois-parliamentary conceptions and methods with regard to the work of the Land assemblies and the local people's representations, and increasingly root the state power in the social movement of all anti-imperialist classes and strata.

Up to the establishment of the GDR, the Central Bloc Committee had a most important role in the unification of the official actions of all anti-fascist-democratic forces. The anti-fascist-democratic bloc and bloc policy as the reflection of Marxist-Leninist alliance policy, applied in a masterly fashion to the concrete situation of the class conflict, turned into firm elements of the constitutional system of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and farmers, with the involvement of other strata of the people also. A system of links and cooperation arose between the organs of the state power and bloc committees, which was characterized by the fact that

-- Senior officials of all bloc parties held office in the Land governments, local councils, Land assembly presidiums and the executive boards of local people's representations,

-- The various representatives of the parties in the bloc committees usually also exercised important state functions,

-- Fundamentally important state measures were prepared by way of discussions and sometimes resolutions of the bloc committees, and implementation of these measures was affected by these,

-- The bloc committees were at all times kept informed of the work of the state organs in Laender, kreises, cities and communities. As a result their meetings became an important source of information for the executive boards and membership meetings of the parties.(10)

After the establishment of the GDR, the emergence of the workers' and farmers' power as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the transition to the construction of the bases of socialism, a new quality of the party alliance and cooperation among the parties and most important mass organizations came about in the organs of the state power, the Democratic Bloc and the new National Front of democratic Germany. This was reflected in the formulation of the tasks and functions of the state power in the dictatorship of the proletariat.(11)

Bloc policy turned into an element of government policy(12) as well as of the state management and planning of society. The involvement of the allied parties in the exercise of the state power was demonstrated by the composition and work of the central state organs, the People's Chamber, its presidium and committees, the Council of Ministers, the ministries and the Supreme Court. At the same time, the major social organizations directly participated in the exercise of the state power by furnishing representatives at all levels as the result of the elections of 15 October 1950. The DBD, CDU, LDPD and NDPD provided an outstanding contribution to the drafting of new legislation,

specially that affecting the working and living conditions of the allies of the working class and their transition to socialist work and lifestyles. That applied to the initiation of such legislation and involvement in discussions of these laws and the submission of proposals for their elaboration.

The participation in legislation of the parties allied with the SED specifically means that notions and proposals by the allies of the working class are introduced, and that thereby important preconditions are provided for their imaginative efforts in the realization of the law. The parties allied with the SED have developed into state supporting parties in the course of the construction of the bases of socialism, and the Democratic Bloc is now a component of the political bases of the GDR's workers' and farmers' power.(13)

Following the emergence of the uniform state power of workers and farmers as well as the establishment and advance of the National Front, the discussions of the Central Democratic Bloc concentrated on basic issues involved in the implementation of the policy of alliances and its legal organization, questions regarding the structure of the state and the continuing development of the state power (including the preparation and conduct of elections to the people's representations and their composition), as well as on problems arising in the relations between the two German states.

In the conditions of the successful organization of the developed socialist society in the 1970's and 1980's, the SED's tight alliance with the friendly parties contributed new aspects to the political organization of the socialist society in the GDR. It continued to improve the GDR's political stability as the embodiment of the power of the working class and its allies, and helped to promote the process of the greater development and adjustment of classes and strata by politico-ideological means, while the politico-moral unity of the people grew steadily. At that time, the parties allied with the SED discovered more comprehensively and profoundly the substance of the socialist revolution in the GDR as well as its future, the nature of the age and its progressive forces. Consequently they closed up ranks even more tightly with the leading working class and its Marxist-Leninist party.

From the viewpoint of the development of the LPDP's political profile, a pertinent comment was heard at the Thirteenth LDPD Congress in 1982: "We have noted a tendency in the past 20 years for the parties allied with the party of the working class to change their nature and role and, at the same time, display features of greater synchronization and commonality. This is an inevitable result of our general development, the reflection of the evolution and consolidation of the GDR people's politico-moral unity and due to the increasing homogeneity of social relations in socialism as well as the reflection of past and present processes in the respective parties."(14)

The DBD, CDU, LDPD and NDPD are not "relics" of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. They are parties of socialist working people, intimate friends of the SED, which organize members of the class of cooperative farmers and social strata. Their programs and policies are now based on principles derived from their scientific insight in the historical inevitabilities of social development.(15) They work under the leadership of

the Marxist-Leninist party in the alliance of all parties and mass organizations, and their efforts are directed to the steady all-round development of socialism as a total social organism. Oriented to total societal interests and objectives, they provide their own contributions mainly to the implementation of the SED's economic policy and share in the satisfaction of the specific interests of the working people allied with the working class. They provide an essential contribution to the realization of the political power of the working class and its allies and assume joint responsibility for society as a whole. As reliable, old established and respected allies of the party of the working class, they hold a firm place in the political organization of the socialist society in the GDR. Their political and intellectual traditions as well as their social experiences are indispensable elements of the present and future of the socialist state in the GDR.(14)

At the present time a total of 423,000 working people are politically organized in the DBD, CDU, LDPD and NDPD. Among them, 45,418 serve as elected delegates of their party in the people's representations. That corresponds to 22.1 percent of all deputies in GDR people's representations. Another (about) 25,000 members of these parties are elected representatives of mass organizations or alternatives or are coopted to the people's representations and their organs.

The members of the parties allied with the SED engage in many varied civic efforts. For example, 18,700 DBD members work as management cadres in agriculture, forestry and the food industry, and another 23,000 party members are busy in the committees of the GDR National Front (including 1,100 as committee chairmen); 462 DBD members exercise the office of mayor and more than 700 are deputy mayors. Among CDU members, 4,005 are managers of or in state owned and cooperative enterprises, facilities of the health and social system as well as cultural facilities; 45,000 work in the National Front, including 25,000 in housing community leaderships.

As for LDPD members--2,259 of them were elected to the councils of the local people's representations, and 201 act as mayors of cities and communities. In the associated communities, 305 LDPD members are at work, including 16 as chairmen. Elected to the organs of justice were 4,866 LDPD members, 18 of them judges, 2,333 jurors, 851 members of conflict commissions and 1,664 members of arbitration commissions. More than 34,000 LDPD members are engaged in the committees of the National Front, their study groups and the housing community leaderships.

Roughly 30,000 NDPD members are at work in the committees, study groups and commissions of the National Front and housing community leaderships; about 2,000 hold office as chairmen or deputy chairmen of National Front committees. 649 NDPD members are chairmen of a PGH [artisan producer cooperative], including a third of all GDR construction craftsmen PGH's.

All parties allied with the SED are multiplying their efforts to enable their members even more effectively to contribute to the all-round strengthening of the socialist state power. As noted, for example, at the Twelfth NDPD Congress, they consider the promotion and consolidation of the socialist state



consciousness of their members the main concern of their politico-ideological work.(17) The greater social efficacy of their members in the people's representations and their organs are enjoying increasing attention, and so does the continuing definition of socialist legal consciousness and involvement in legislation.(18)

The example of the work of the Christian-Democratic Union will show the extent to which allied parties are involved in legislation, the shaping of the official will in the broadest meaning. Between the Fourteenth and Fifteenth CDU Congresses, the secretariat of the main executive board as well as district, kreis and local group executive boards of the party, in cooperation with expert members, central agencies of the state power and local people's representations and their organs, prepared 6,249 proposals for the accomplishment of specific tasks. The proposals at central level alone were reflected in 70 subsequent laws, decrees, orders, central decisions and instructions. Since the Fifteenth CDU Congress, the executive boards have submitted another 2,700 suggestions and proposals; 114 of these originated with the secretariat of the main party executive board, 291 with district executive boards. The proposals at the central level were incorporated in 24 laws, decrees, orders or central decisions and materials up to June 1984. They include the fifth implementing decree to the environmental law of March 1983, the order on customer advisory councils in state owned commerce of June 1983, the Council of Ministers' decision on innercity construction of June 1983, the law on the 1984 economic plan of December 1983, the hunting law of June 1984 and the decision on the Bach, Haendel and Schuetz celebration in 1985.(19)

In alliance with the SED and led by it, the friendly parties increasingly achieved a great deal for the implementation of the total societal program of the party of the working class, made every effort to provide specific politico-ideological motivation, mobilization and orientation for their members and followers. An important means to do so is the political representation of the interests of their members and followers who represent the social base of the friendly parties. Politico-ideological work raises the consciousness of all members and followers with regard to their interests as allies of the working class and as socialist citizens, enabling them to act accordingly. "In the struggle for the fulfillment of their common socioeconomic and political interests the working class shares with the other classes and strata, many members of the friendly parties discovered the truth about themselves in the ideology of socialism without necessarily identifying with the ideology of Marxism."(20)

The political representation of interests includes the necessity to make the party members conscious of objective common interests in the construction of the socialist society and thereby further strengthen the unity in the struggle against reaction and imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism among the forces starting from different ideological premises. This also includes the need to explain to the members the differences between the working classes and strata, due to the really existing class and social structure of the socialist society, and which persist and reproduce themselves, as well as the continued working of different motives, value concepts and traditions. It is imperative

to constantly call to their attention their specific interests and needs as well as their intellectual independence in the political system of socialism

while putting behind them narrow party interests, ideological and political differences of opinion. The SED leads and assists the allied parties in this endeavor.

As stressed by Manfred Gerlach, LDPD chairman, for example, at the Seventh Conference of LDPD party officials, the political representation of members' and followers' interests needs to accomplish two significant tasks. It must, "first of all contribute to the steady generation, consolidation and development of the coincidence of interests of classes and strata, social, collective and individual interests, and ensure that, in the course of this process, the specific interests, abilities and inclinations of the members...and the strata they belong to may evolve as a forward urging force of socialist progress."(21)

In many respects, these specific interests, abilities, inclinations, experiences and traditions play a progressive role as driving forces of economic and social advance.(22) In the continuing organization of developed socialism, it is more than ever important to fully use for the social entity the knowledge, abilities and skills of the members of parties allied with the SED. That includes the need so to nurture, encourage and develop strata or group specific interests, abilities, skills and traditions--especially of cooperative farmers, craftsmen and small businessmen--that they may operate as irreplaceable productive potentials of economic and social progress in our society.(23) The continuing development of socialist classes, social strata and groups, their adjustment and the conquest of social differences between them proceed in this manner.

The decisions adopted at the latest congresses of the parties allied with the SED and the struggle for their implementation demonstrate that they consider the economy the proper field for decisions regarding future advances in the organization of the developed socialist society and in the struggle for the preservation and security of peace. This is evidenced by their specific initiatives for the economic strengthening of the GDR, including the LDPD party initiative "the alliance's contribution to economic growth," and the "plan initiative" of craftsmen and small businessmen drafted by the NDPD--both of them unlocking substantial reserves for the supply of the general public.

The SED's relations with its allied parties are firm and trusting. As the SED Central Committee stressed, high esteem is due "the achievements and activities of the allied parties which, in the implementation of their party congress decisions, have shown themselves to be creative allies, brothers-at-arms of the party of the working class."(24) The SED is at all times guided by the principle that the alliance of the parties is a well tried alliance in every respect, occupies a solid and stable place in the system of the political organization of the socialist GDR and has a long future ahead of it.(25) It is backed by the common wish "by responsible work to achieve the objectives set by the party of the working class and, consequently, respond to the vital interests of the members of all other classes and strata."(26)

The more evident the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the greater is the shared responsibility of their allies, the more significant the comradely cooperation between SED and its allied parties. The new quality objectively required in the period of the organization of the developed socialist society with regard to the alliance relations between the working class and the class of cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and other social strata involves constantly new and greater challenges to the party of the working class and the other parties allied with it. The continued pursuit of this alliance at a higher level calls for an increasingly solid politico-ideological and politico-scientific foundation. This includes the need for the parties allied with the SED to thoroughly utilize the central SED decisions on the continuing organization of the developed socialist society and, as their 1982 party congresses confirmed, apply them as the basic political and ideological orientation of their own independent management and guidance work. The parties allied with the SED do not lose importance as the result of the total societal leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party. On the contrary, they are increasingly significant from the aspect of their social efficacy. By the rise in the responsibilities of the working class and its party, they--their allies--are even more extensively the co-organizers of socialism.

This is demonstrated in particular by the regular conferences between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and the president of the National Council of the GDR National Front. They fully express the fact that the SED acts on the principle "to afford each citizen, regardless of his social antecedents, his religious or ideological profession, the widest possible opportunities for active involvement in the organization of the developed socialist society." (27) They confirm impressively that the SED's cooperation with the allied parties is "characterized by profound mutual understanding and trust, by comradeliness and frankness." (28) Erich Honecker proclaimed that "there are no weighty domestic or foreign issues which are not discussed in detail with the chairmen of the allied parties and the president of the National Council of the GDR National Front, so that we may arrive at common conclusions under the leadership of the party of the working class." (29)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Order No 2 of the Supreme Chief of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany of 10 July 1945," in "Orders of the Supreme Chief of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany," collection 1, Berlin 1946, p 9; see also the interesting description by G. Benser, "Die KPD im Jahre der Befreiung" [The KPD in the Year of Liberation], Berlin 1985, pp 139ff.
2. See K. Sorgenicht, "The SED's Comradely Cooperation with the Allied Parties in the Democratic Bloc and the GDR National Front - an Important Factor in the All-round Consolidation of the Workers' and Farmers' Power," PROBLEME DES FRIEDENS UND DES SOZIALISMUS, 1978, p 1334.
3. "Appeal of the Communist Party of Germany of 11 June 1943," in DOKUMENTE DER NEUEN ZEIT, Dresden 1945, No 1, pp 11ff.

4. Ibid.
5. See V. Wrona, "Socialism-Humanism-Tolerance," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHILOSOPHIE, 1984, p 763.
6. "Anti-fascist-democratic unity has arrived. United Front of the Communist Party of Germany, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Christian-Democratic Party of Germany and the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany, 14 July 1945," DOKUMENTE DER NEUEN ZEIT, as before, p 35.
7. "Buendnispolitik im Sozialismus" [Alliance Policy in Socialism], Berlin 1981, p 27.
8. See G. Benser, as before, pp 246ff.
9. See "Errichtung des Arbeiter-und-Bauern-Staates der DDR. 1945-1949" [Construction of the Workers' and Farmers' State of the GDR. 1945-1949], p 83.
10. See F. Kind, "Christian Democrats in the Struggle for a New Democracy. On the Development and the Contribution of the CDU Brandenburg Land Federation Within the Political Organization of the Society During the Anti-fascist-Democratic Revolution (1945-1949/1950), published by the secretariat of the CDU main executive board, 1984, p 16.
11. On the justification for the retention and expansion of Bloc policy in the conditions of the construction of the dictatorship of the proletariat see "Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei und Sozialistischer Staat" [Marxist-Leninist Party and the Socialist State], Berlin 1978, pp 71ff.
12. That was already reflected in the first government statement of Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl to the People's Chamber on 12 October 1949 (see PROTOKOLLE DER PROVISORISCHEN VOLKSKAMMER DER DDR 1949/1950, pp 10ff, 25).
13. See "Staatsrecht der DDR. Lehrbuch" [GDR Constitutional Law. Textbook], Berlin 1984, pp 119ff.
14. "Thirteenth LDPD Congress, Part I," published by the secretariat of the LDPD central executive board, Berlin 1982, p 82.
15. Ibid, pp 79f.
16. See "The Preparation of the Eleventh SED Congress is a Matter for the Entire People. Erich Honecker's Conference with the Chairmen of the Allied Parties and the President of the National Council of the GDR National Front, : NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 28 November 1984, p 1.
17. See "The Twelfth NDPD Congress, : published by the presidium of the main NDPD executive board, Berlin 1982, p 108.

18. See, among others, "Minutes of the Eleventh DBD Congress," published by the DBD executive board, Berlin 1982, pp 72f; G.Goetting, "Die CDU und die Aufgaben der Achtziger Jahre" [The CDU and the Tasks of the 1980's], Berlin 1983, pp 67ff; "Thirteenth LDPD Congress...", as before, pp 70ff; "The Twelfth NDPD Congress...", as before, pp 108ff.
19. See "Christian-Democratic Union of Germany. Co-shaper of Our Socialist State Power," published by the secretary of the main CDU executive board.
20. See V. Wrona, as before, p 765.
21. M.Gerlach, "We Are Implementing the Decisions of the Thirteenth Party Congress and Proving Our Worth in the Alliance with Energy, a Wealth of Ideas and Optimism,": DER MORGEN, 4 September 1984, p 6.
22. See R. Weidig, "Social Conditions and Motive Forces for Advanced Work Performance," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE 1985, p 9.
23. See M. Gerlach, as before.
24. See "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 6.Tagung des ZK der SED. Berichterstatter: Genosse Horst Dohlus" [From the Politburo Report to the Sixth SED CC Plenum. Reporter: Comrade Horst Rohlus], Berlin 1983, pp 47f.
25. See "Protokoll der Verhandlungen des X.Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [Minutes of the Meetings at the Tenth SED Congress], Vol 1, Berlin 1981, p 126.
26. See "From the Politburo Report...", as before, p 48; "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 7.Tagung des ZK der SED. Berichterstatter: Genosse Werner Felfe" [From the Politburo Report to the Seventh SED CC Plenum. Reporter: Comrade Werner Felfe], Berlin 1983, p 42; "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 8.Tagung des ZK der SED. Berichterstatter: Conrade Kurt Hager" [From the Politburo Report to the Eighth SED CC Plenum. Reporter: Comrade Kurt Hager], Berlin 1984, p 42.
27. See "Minutes of the Meetings of the Tenth SED Congress...", as before.
28. See "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 9.Tagung des ZK der SED, Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker" [From the Politburo Report to the Ninth SED CC Plenum. Reporter: Comrade Erich Honecker], Berlin 1984, p 53.
29. Ibid, pp 52f; see also K.Schneider, "The Alliance Political Cooperation

Between the Parties Under the Leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the Process of the Continuing Organization of the Developed Socialist Society, : BEITRAEGE ZUR THEORIE UND PRAXIS DER POLITISCHEN ORGANISATION DER SOZIALISTISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT, scholarly series published by Karl-Marx University, Leipzig, No 2, pp 3ff.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RELIGIOUS FAITH, COMMUNISM CLAIMED NON-ANTAGONISTIC

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[Article by Prof Dr Hans Tutter, Department of Marxism-Leninism/Civics at the "Liselotte Hermann" Pedagogical College in Guestrow, and by Prof Dr Olof Klohr, of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism at the Marine Engineering College in Warnemuende: "Current Problems of Collaboration between Communists and the Faithful"]\*

[Text]

I

Expansion and deepening of cooperation between communists and the faithful in the political struggles of our times has become a requirement, a necessity of such importance that success in the battle for peace, democracy and historical progress are influenced by it. This results from the fact that during the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism the role of the masses grows exponentially, because "with the thoroughness of historic action, (thus) will increase the size of the masses whose action it is." 1) W.I. Lenin derived from this the consequence that, depending on the momentum and extent of historic actions, the number of people participating in it, and the depth of the desired societal reorganization, it was necessary to arouse interest and a conscious attitude and "convince ever more and more millions of this necessity." 2)

These "millions and more millions" on our globe are, however, to a large extent the faithful, since the majority of the world's population adheres to a religious community. 3) Belonging to different social groups, they are a part of historic actions. Therefore it is of decisive significance for the far-reaching processes of the present which side they take in the political struggle. Communists and the faithful live in the same real world, are confronted by the same problems,--whereby it is of secondary importance that the communist takes this world as it really is, "without outside ingredient" (Friedrich Engels), while the faithful (albeit in very differing strength and intensity) tries to comprehend it through his relations with God (gods). What is important is that the faithful who are dedicated to the task of creating a humanistic world, who oppose reactionary, anti-humanistic politics and their goals, objectively have the same basic interests as communists; as was stressed at the philosophical congress, "where there are common conditions of existence, there also

exist common interests." And Frich Hahn concludes from that: "At present, what matters is to give the common interest in peace a dominant and unifying effect in ideological and political struggle, in dialogue." 4)

This is vitally true for the struggle for peace which requires mobilization of all humanistic potential, but it also holds true for the struggle for national and social liberation, against exploitation and oppression, poverty, hunger and social misery. Therefore, for communists, cooperation with those faithful working for the happiness and welfare of people is a fundamental principle of strategic importance based on the premise that the common political struggle is historically necessary and possible, beyond ideological differences. Such possibilities--and this will be of particular interest in the following--open up to a great extent in Christianity, especially. One must agree with Helmut Seidel when he says "that in early Christianity, in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, in the Christian thesis of the equality of men--be it only before God--, in the command of loving one's neighbor, there exists a humanistic potential." 5) Indeed, we experience in many ways that, and how, Christians derive progressive political action from religious motivation: Recalling the "communities of fighting spirit" of early Christianity can justify "active propaganda, incessant battle against the enemy without and within, proud confession of the revolutionary viewpoint before pagan judges, a martyr's death certain of victory;" 6) from the thesis of the equality of all men, justification against racism can be derived; with Christian love of one's neighbor, solidarity with the oppressed can be triggered; and with the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, the fight for a peaceful and just world can be motivated. This, then, lends credence to Vera Wrona's statement, "that there exist commonalities between all ideologies and spiritual attitudes which feel very obligated to the humanistic concern with welfare and happiness of men and actively pursue it, which necessitate mutual respect and are the basis of togetherness and constructive dialogue." 7)

It is self-evident that this describes possibilities; it is sufficiently well-known "that religiously motivated ethics can assume various contents, can serve different social forces as spiritual orientation or justification." 8) Then and now, the faithful can be found on both sides of the barricades and then and now, clerical-anticommunist crusading ideologues in imperialist states in part still exercise considerable influence over the faithful. But it is unmistakable that in all three revolutionary mainstreams of our times the described (progressive) possibility becomes reality, that cooperation of communists and the faithful in joint humanistic action is increasingly expanding and deepening.

This comparative formulation intends to show that such cooperation has not just developed in recent times, and especially not that communists have only now discovered the importance of this question. Particularly in this 80th year since publication of the article "Socialism and Religion" by W. I. Lenin, it behooves us to recall that sentence which has always been of fundamental importance to communists: "Unity of this truly revolutionary



struggle of the masses for a paradise on earth is more important to us than the unity of opinions of the proletarians on paradise in heaven." 9) Communists have always taken this point of Lenin's to heart in practical politics, and one could write a voluminous history book on the subject alone that, and in what way, the Communist Parties in the past have time and again put on the agenda, and striven for, the common political battle by all forces oppressed and persecuted by political reaction, independent of ideology and religion. This can easily be proven by the documents of the international workers' movement, beginning with the Communist International (Comintern), the declarations of the Communist and Workers' Parties after 1945, up to the 1983 Karl Marx Conference in Berlin. These facts alone disprove the slander constantly spread about by anticommunist clericalism, out of ignorance or distortion of historical facts, that the endeavor by communists for political cooperation with the faithful was only the political order of the day, i.e., political tactics, and for this reason one must not take the "outstretched hand." It does not need proof that, objectively, this only aids the political reaction which is interested in splintering progressive forces, which aims to "fan religious quarrels, in order to distract the attention of the masses from the really important and fundamental economic and political questions." 10)

## II

Since the Sixties of our century, new worldwide objective conditions have developed for the common political battle of communists and the faithful, which have imbued it with qualitatively new traits, larger dimensions and increasing significance. Among these objective conditions are:

- the worldwide advance of the forces of societal progress, which has become the major trend in the development of the world;
- the political, economic and military strengthening of the socialist countries and their international appeal;
- the collapse of the colonial system and the fight of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America for their national and social liberation, against imperialism and neocolonialism;
- the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and increased aggressiveness of imperialism.

The processes, naturally, also have significant effects on the faithful, the churches and religious movements: to an extraordinary degree, and increasingly, they are confronted directly with the problems of the "world" and must react to them. This is done in a class-specific way, both in a progressive sense as a "turn to the world," and in the traditional conservative manner. The most noticeable changes in the progressive sense among the faithful, roughly categorized, can be seen in the following processes:

1. In first place (although not in chronological order) stands the development of a powerful peace movement, in which religious peace forces play a significant part and in which communists and the faithful stand side by side. "What is new today consists in the fact that this coopera-

tion has surpassed all boundaries established so far and has reached a latitude as never before." 11)

2. In the socialist states, the number of those faithful has increased constantly who jointly with the communists fight for the realization of the humanistic goals of socialism.

3. In Western Europe, in many countries leftist Christian and critical groups, movements and currents have developed which, not infrequently in opposition to or alienation from the church leadership, fight together with the communists against exploitation and unemployment, for social justice and democracy. What is also impressive is the fact that the number of the faithful who have become members of Communist Parties has risen considerably. There, also, the common humanistic concern is the binding element, because: "The first consequence of the humanism of the working class is the elimination of the exploitative capitalist conditions and its replacement by socialist production conditions." 12)

4. One of the most striking changes has occurred within Catholicism in Latin America. A Catholic grassroots movement numbering a million in the struggle against poverty, hunger and misery, against exploitation and oppression by imperialism, has led to political activity by the faithful never seen before, and has found its religious justification in the "theology of liberation." Large sectors of the faithful thus mobilized have often shown their willingness to cooperate in broad progressive movements and with the communists. 13)

5. In Africa, the Near East and in Asia, masses of adherents and leaders of Islam and Buddhism champion peace, social justice and national independence. Although, as a rule, cooperation with communists is not yet as pronounced as in other regions of the world, seen from a historical viewpoint, the preconditions for it are developing.

In our opinion, from the variety of developments described here one can deduce in general that the joint struggle of communists and the faithful is increasingly becoming a general occurrence. If this observation is connected to the previously stated necessity, then characteristics have been formulated for the joint struggle of communists and the faithful which correspond to an objective force of law. It gains its specific conditions of effectiveness from the individual concrete, historical situation: be it that the aggressive policy of imperialism endangers peace to the highest degree; be it that the fight for national liberation is the direct order of the day; be it that political oppression and social misery have reached such an extent as to endanger human existence; or lastly, be it that--as in the socialist states--peaceful, humanistic development work requires and makes possible the development of all potential. If, on the basis of such conditions of effectiveness, objective existential interests are adequately reflected intellectually, then corresponding and sufficient conditions are ripening so that this objective force of law is realized in the activity of large groups of people.

The fact that social and political interests of the faithful often (but certainly not always) remain linked to a religious background or faith of transcendental hope, undoubtedly can, but does not necessarily have to, lead to the wrong political orientation. In the "Holy Family," Marx and Engels speak out against the way "to transform real, objective chains existing outside of me into merely idealistic, merely subjective chains existing only within me, thus changing all external, sensory battles into purely conceptual struggles." 14) The "theology of liberation", for example, with its acceptance of fundamental insights of Marxism-Leninism regarding economic analyses, class structure and class struggle, and the necessity of eliminating exploitation and oppression, does not at all follow this model, but recognizes--still remaining theology--the necessity of breaking the "real, objective chains existing outside of me." And with this, a basis for joint action with the communists is at hand.

For communists and the workers' movement, new questions have arisen due to the growing number of progressive activities by the faithful. The mass movement of religious forces on a world scale, very differentiated among themselves, represents a new element to be coped with in practical political as well as theoretical terms. The Consultation of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 already pointed to this emerging tendency: "Due to the serious aggravation of social contradictions, in many capitalist countries possibilities exist for an alliance of the revolutionary workers' movement with broad masses of the faithful on an anti-monopolistic and anti-imperialist basis." 15) And the 1976 Conference of Europe's Communist and Workers' Parties reaffirmed: "In the battle for workers' rights, for democracy and peace, an important role is played by ever broader Catholic forces, adherents of other Christian religious communities, and the faithful of other denominations. The Communist and Workers' Parties are aware of the necessity for dialogue and joint actions with these forces." 16)

Such joint actions do not happen automatically, however, but are purposefully searched and worked for by communists. An essential precondition for this is--and that holds true for both sides--that the subjective position and respective motivation of the partner is noted and respected. This has consequences for theoretical work. The tasks resulting from cooperation between communists and the faithful are not considered "marginal problems" of, perhaps, Marxist religious criticism or atheism, nor are they seen as passing, short-term problems occupying only a third-rate position in theoretical considerations, but rather they are given increasing importance in view of the strategic significance of this problem in Marxist-Leninist philosophy and scientific communism.

A specific analysis of present day religions, the attitude and actions of the faithful and religious organization carried out in this manner does not lead to blurring or ignoring the fundamental ideological-philosophical differences. It is only a matter of correctly sorting and categorizing these differences, uncovering the philosophical mutualities underlying joint action, and letting them become effective as a driving force. An important condition is respect for the partner's independent ideology. One

must accept the premise that the faithful is a religious person, and the communist a representative of Marxist-Leninist ideology. "In the spirit of true tolerance, communists respect religious faith and its practice. They do not force the scientific-materialist ideology upon the adherent of a religion. They also do not make its acceptance the prerequisite for cooperation." 17) This position naturally does not preclude that Marxist-Leninists represent and spread their ideology. But they are also convinced that religious faith does not "obligate to antisocialism," that "a sense of responsibility motivated by religious conviction can bring about an upright ethical attitude and active humanism, which is always respected by communists and forms an important basis for cooperation." 18)

It can be stated in summary: The increasing expansion and deepening of political cooperation between communists and the faithful on a global scale represents one tendency of which can be said, however, that, to an increasing extent, it will become the determining one due to the historically determined continuing effectiveness of objective and subjective conditions.

### III

Cooperation of communists and the faithful in socialist society constitutes a special case; it is special in relation to the general principle described. Consequently, the invariable traits of the general principle apply here, also, in a specific manner, such as necessity and possibility of cooperation, historically determined growing expansion and deepening, the faithful turning toward the world, etc.

The relationship of German communists with the faithful has significant historical traditions, particularly in the battle of the KPD against fascism, with its resolutions of Brussels (1935) and Berne (1939), the "Open Words to All Catholics of Germany" in the year 1937, cooperation in the "National Committee Free Germany," to the "Proclamation of the KPD Central Committee" of 11 June 1945, to the founding of the SED in our republic. The "Proclamation on the 35th Anniversary of the Founding of the German Democratic Republic" stated that "a firm basis" had been created "for the alliance of all antifascists, among them the faithful of different religious denominations, and members of all levels of the population who learned a lesson from the fascist rule of terror." 19)

Not only documents, but the experience of history also confirm this. It is true that in the former Germany, the official churches were far from allying themselves with the communists, and it is probably a historical fact that this was also true for the majority of the faithful. But among the Christians of our country there is also a progressive line of tradition, from the left wing of "religious socialists" to Christian democrats, progressive Christian laymen and theologians of the present who took the "outstretched hand" and, together with the communists, carried on the battle against the political reaction and for a new Germany. Theologian Emil Fuchs is to be cited here as representative for many; he held and lived the opinion that active participation by Christians in the

class struggle of the proletariat is not in contradiction to Christian ethics, but rather its political expression and who, in this sense, called for "partisanship out of faith". Theologian Hans-Hinrich Jenssen derives from this the following: "Practical consequences of this far-reaching insight are the extensive participation of Christians in building socialism being carried out by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party." 20) And Christian democrat Wolfgang Heyl says in the same context: "Thus the viewpoint of the working class is not an alien intellectual and political position forced upon us. On the contrary--this position is the logical consequence of our own good tradition." 21)

Fuchs, Jenssen and Heyl, they represent a large number of Christians of the past and present who proceed from the principle that the societal aims pursued by communists are their own, that the creation of a humanistic socialist society corresponds to (not contradicts) the maxims of Christian ethics, and that the common aspects are stronger than the separating ones.

The fact that these good traditions of cooperation were not carried by great mass movements of the faithful in the past does not justify a downgrading of its qualitative importance. Such an approach would be extremely undialectic. The practical development of socialism in the GDR during three and a half decades shows that what had been sporadic, embryonic in the past, today has become manifold, a mass occurrence: trusting cooperation between communists and Christians has become the rule today. An essential prerequisite and basis for it is the fact that the faithful--as guaranteed in the constitution--are citizens with equal rights and are equally respected. This cooperation manifests itself in many ways: in the production process and social communication in the factories, within the framework of the National Front, and in societal organizations. In parliamentary assemblies, in commissions and advisory committees, Christian citizens contribute responsible work. The activity and function of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) is of great importance in the political organization of socialist society. The political orientation and theoretical work of this party is essentially determined by the ideals of the working class. At the same time, the CDU professes the Christian faith and particularly stresses love of peace, love of one's neighbor, solidarity, justice and responsibility of Christians for humanistic work. Lastly, various Christian groups and organizations have developed on GDR soil (for instance, fraternities) which, although in a different way, acknowledge as positive values the basic principles and aims of socialist society, in particular the unity of socialism and peace.

This involvement in society by Christian citizens derives from the insight that socialist society is the first in the history of mankind to offer the possibility of bringing the ethical and humanistic goals of Christianity into harmony with the development and aims of this society, that comradesly cooperation with the communists concerns common vital interests. The constant reproduction of this harmony of interests is a partial process of the dialectics of socialism, becoming effective as the driving force of societal development. Finally, in the spirit of true tolerance, the

specific interests of the faithful are respected, taken into account, and legally ensured to a high degree through the guarantee of freedom of faith and conscience which grants equal rights to all religious communities, by declaring religion a private matter vis-a-vis the state, by rejecting any cultural battle and administrative measures against religion and injury to religious feelings, and through legal protection of religious services and the seal of confession.

This policy by party and government has increasingly promoted in a positive manner the shaping and development of relations between communists and Christians as well as the relationship between state and church. The significant meeting between Erich Honecker and the board of the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaders on 6 March 1978 contributed in particular. As a result of this encounter, relations between church and state attained a new quality, gained openness, mutual understanding, trust and constructiveness. Especially during the many encounters and festivities on the occasion of the Luther celebrations in 1983, these relations impressively proved to be extraordinarily stable. The fact that 6 March 1978 is still effective to this day, and to what great extent, became especially clear in the talk between Erich Honecker and Land Bishop Dr. Johannes Hempel on 11 February of this year. In this conversation, E. Honecker praised in particular "the indispensable activity of Christians and the churches as part of the active work of the people of the GDR carried out by all citizens for peace and detente in Europe and the world." Bishop Dr. J. Hempel on his part--as is seen in the mutually agreed-on communique--referred to the meeting on 6 March 1978 and stressed especially the positive development of church-state relations, emphasizing the willingness and need of Christian citizens "to remain responsible in the numerous tasks of developing socialist society and to participate according to their personal gifts." Of special importance are the statements by the land bishop that the 40th anniversary of liberation means for the church, also, "liberation and the grace of a new beginning," and that it is necessary, in view of the gravity of the political situation of the world, "to put all questions pending between church and state in second place behind the task of maintaining peace." 22)

In practice, all these facts disprove the defamatory claim spread time and again by conservative forces, particularly in the FRG, that in socialism exists an "atheistic state" which oppresses the faithful and the churches. The ideological thrust of this old saw is obvious. It is spread about with the intent of causing the faithful to abstain politically, or be inimical to socialism and to keep communists and the faithful divided. It is obvious that such theses fit perfectly into the anticommunist crusade ideology (against the "infidels") which attempts to slander socialism as the "incarnation of Antichrist" and thus as "evil" in the eyes of the faithful. To define the nature of the socialist state by ideological attributes hides and distorts the fact that the socialist state is a political institution with political goals. Consequently, it uses its means--where necessary--against political reaction and for the establishment of a new, humanistic, political order. And this state is carried by allied classes and social strata, including millions of

Christians, who actively participate in the formation of this society, their society, because they have recognized and accepted the established political goals as their own.

It is not being overlooked in all this, and it does not remain unsaid, that communists and the faithful proceed from differing, philosophically/ideologically opposed viewpoints which undoubtedly play a more or less important part in political considerations and decisions. The objective dialectic contradiction caused by these ideological contrasts has, however, long since found its proper form of motion in the GDR for shaping relations between communists and Christians; their major characteristics probably consist in the following:

- subordination of ideological contrasts to political requirements in Lenin's meaning;
- Orientation toward what is mutual and uniting;
- Openness and frankness in relations;
- Mutual esteem and respect of the ideological motivation of the other in the spirit of true tolerance;
- Constructive loyalty.

In this manner, communists become aware and respect the fact that socialist political action by Christians, in addition to the primary reason of knowledge of societal relations, is usually motivated also by religion. Not the religious background but the political decision, action effective in society, is decisive. This certainly does not exclude controversial viewpoints in individual cases. But in practical political life, both communists and Christians in the GDR have had the good experience that free, open talks between the partners are helpful, on both sides free of opportunism and sectarianism, impatience and mutually exaggerated demands; that openness regarding divergent viewpoints is not at all a strain on relations, but practically its condition. It would not serve the cause were each to look at the other as a "being from another world," to be approached only very cautiously. In mutual association, here, also, is true what Kurt Hager demanded at the conference of social sciences: "It is generally necessary to place great importance on the elementary preconditions of living together in society, such as respect, politeness, tact, modesty, reliability..." 23)

The high degree of conscious cooperation between communists and the faithful achieved today in the socialist society of the GDR unfolded in a long historic process which effected a learning process on both sides, as P. Verner stated as early as 1971: "In order to walk this road, many basic and constructive discussions were necessary; prejudices had to be overcome, useless and damaging ballast had to be jettisoned, distrust dismantled; new intellectual positions had to be attained, and trust in the strength of the people had to be created. It was a process of simultaneous change of relations, and one's own change. Especially the people coming from the bourgeoisie had to gain many new insights, but we Marxists also learned something from this cooperation." 24)

The deepening cooperation of communists and the faithful is rooted in the rich harvest of experience collected in the common fight against fascism and barbarianism, and especially in the creation of humane conditions inherent in socialism. More than ever, continuation of the joint work is needed in the present and future, since it is a matter of stopping the warmongering forces of imperialism in time. And above all--as was stressed emphatically at the 6th GDR Philosophy Congress--it is a matter of uniting in a mighty current of true humanism the many endeavors by social forces of differing ideological maturity and differing tradition. In this current, communists and the faithful make a significant contribution to life in the fight for realization of human rights in a secure order of peace, and in a society which makes possible the development of the creative abilities of every individual.

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* Revised version of the major paper at the 3rd International Guestrow Symposium (See: DZfPh. No 6/1985, p 553)
- 1. F. Engels/K. Marx: The Holy Family. In: K.Marx/F. Engels: Werke [Works] Vol 2, Berlin 1970, p 495.
- 2. V. I. Lenin: VIII. Gesamtrussischer Sowjetkongress [8th Greater Russian Soviet Congress] . In: W. I. Lenin: Werke Works ,Vol 31, Berlin 1970, p 495.
- 3. According to a 1975 poll by the Gallup Institute, belief in God or a Supreme Being was, for example, in Africa 95 percent, in Latin America 96 percent, in the United States 94 percent, in Asia 89 percent, in West Europe 78 percent of the population. From: Weltphaenomen Atheismus [World Phenomenon, Atheism] , Vienna, Freiburg, Basel 1979, p 15.
- 4. E. Hahn: Sozialistischer Humanismus und Frieden. Individuum und Gesellschaft bei der Gestaltung des entwickelten Sozialismus. In: Sozialismus und Frieden--Humanismus in den Kaempfen unserer Zeit. [Socialist Humanism and Peace. The Individual and Society in the Development of Mature Socialism. In: Socialism and Peace--Humanism in the Struggles of Our Times.] Berlin 1985, p 17.
- 5. H. Seidel: Gedanken zum Begriff und zur Geschichte des Humanismus. [Thoughts on the Concept and History of Humanism] . In: DZfPh. Vol 8-9/1984, p 752.
- 6. F. Engels: Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums [On the History of Early Christianity]. In: K. Marx/F. Engels: Werke, Vol 22. Berlin 1960, p 471.
- 7. V. Wrona: Sozialismus--Humanismus--Toleranz [Socialism--Humanism--Tolerance] . In: DZfPh, Vol 8-9/1984, p 761.



8. W. Kliem: Kommunisten und Christen gemeinsam in Kampf um den Frieden  
Communists and Christians together in the Struggle for Peace. In:  
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9. V. I. Lenin: Sozialismus und Religion [Socialism and Religion]. In:  
V. I. Lenin: Werke Vol 10, Berlin 1972, p 74.
10. Ibid.
11. W. Kliem: Kommunisten und Christen gemeinsam im Kampf um den Frieden.  
op. cit., p 769.
12. K. Hager: Unser humanistischer Auftrag [Our Humanistic Task] . In:  
Sozialismus und Frieden--Humanismus in den Kaempfen unserer Zeit.  
op. cit, p 113.
13. Not least of all, the magazine PROBLEME DES FRIEDENS UND DES SOZIALIS-  
MUS has become an important forum for this discussion.
14. F. Engels/K. Marx: The Holy Family, op. cit., p 87.
15. Internationale Beratung der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien in  
Moskau [International Consultation of Communist and Workers' Parties].  
Berlin 1969, p 31.
16. Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas [Conference  
of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe]. Berlin 1976, p 27.
17. Die Philosophie des Friedens im Kampf gegen die Ideologie des Krieges.  
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in the Fight against the Ideology of War. Authors' collective under  
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19. Aufruf zum 35. Jahrestag der Gruendung der DDR [Proclamation on the  
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21. W. Heyl: Christen im Sozialismus. Freiheit und Dienst [Christians in  
Socialism. Freedom and Service.] Berlin 1981, p 11.
22. Meeting of Erich Honecker with Land Bishop Dr. Johannes Kempel. In:  
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Values of Socialism ]. Berlin 1983, p 56.

24. P. Verner: Gemeinsam auf dem Weg des Friedens und des Sozialismus. In:  
P. Verner/G. Goetting: Christen und Marxisten in gemeinsamer Verantwortung [Together on the Road to Peace and Socialism. In:...Christians and Marxists in Joint Responsibility] . Berlin 1971, p 12.

9917

CS0: 2300/38

HUNGARY

GENERAL PRESENTS VIEWS ABOUT CAREER, COMMAND, RESPONSIBILITY

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 28 Sep 85 p 9

[Interview with Major General Bela Kerekgyarto by Laszlo Ballago and Andras Toth: "Always Among Those Ready to Act"]

[Excerpts] ...The commander's fate is perpetual loneliness. That is, there is a series of responsibilities which cannot be shared with anyone. But all this must not be confused with distrust. I have been a communist for nearly 40 years. That is, I belong to an ideological-political community whose human, political and moral standards appear in me practically as daily habits...

Major General Bela Kerekgyarto is a striking personality and a well known and respected member of the college of generals in the Hungarian People's Armed Forces. Traveling the difficult path of a professional soldier he has passed through practically every rung of commander assignments. During the course of several decades of a career as an officer he has--except for the years of academic training and advanced training--always served with the troops. He has been higher unit commander for 11 years, and a general for 5 years.

[Question] ...The closed organizational structure of the armed forces presumes primarily centrally determined tasks. The main method of guidance and leadership is the order, the directive received from one's superior. Theoretically one can not deviate from these. The commanding officer is not allowed to improvise.

[Answer] In connection with this a biblical proverb comes to mind which says something like God can be praised in many languages. Translating this to my own ideology I interpret it to say that the many restrictions or the central direction do not at any level exclude the commanding officer's independence, the possibilities of thinking, analysing, gaining experience and on the basis of all these, making independent conclusions. Being subordinates and superiors means not only restrictions but also autonomy. First of all, the autonomy of action. Which is necessary among other things also because of the local characteristics, the differences in organization and in personnel. For example, if someone just analysed the process of implementation or perhaps of the decline of these, he can immediately arrive at realizations which call for actions. I call such matters recognized tasks.

[Question] Does it happen that such locally recognized tasks conflict with the central directives and expectations?

[Answer] Even if not too frequently, but it does happen. At such times one consults and coordinates with the local factors as well as with the appropriate superior.

[Question] Could you give an example of this?

[Answer] Years ago when I was still a unit commander, the organizational and methodological ideas and system of requirements of the new training system were experimentally introduced in my formation. I also had to give my opinion about what is good and what is bad. What should I say? I had hard arguments with my subordinates as well as with my superiors. And I also had suggestions. This in essence is no different today either. Perhaps the only difference is that today I am more cool and have more experience. I give my opinion after even more circumspect evaluations than before.

[Question] And what happens if your superiors do not consider timely the decision or contemplated task you consider proper?

[Answer] I try to prove I am right.

[Question] And if you do not succeed?

[Answer] I accept it. The work of a commanding officer consists not only of successes. A person in his own interest must be wary of the temptation of infallibility.

[Question] Does the authority of a commanding officer, of the responsible assignment entail such temptations?

[Answer] Certainly it does exist but so far I am fortunate that it has avoided me. At least I think it has. But I think it is possible that not every one of my subordinates shares this opinion.

[Question] Are you interested in the opinions of your subordinates?

[Answer] It depends on what the topic is. I meant the autonomy--the right and possibility of independent thinking, analyzing and drawing conclusions that I have mentioned--to hold true for all subordinates. All this presumes that people have opinions. And fortunately they do have them. In most cases my experiences and ideas are built on this. And as far as my personal affairs are concerned: I never strived to be liked. It is much more important to be understood.

[Question] Do you consider yourself a democratic leader?

[Answer] I could avoid answering by saying that judging that is not my task. But life itself also poses this question every day... Every since I have been a professional soldier, in addition to my assignment I have always been

honored also by elected offices. At some level I always participated in party work. Most recently I was elected member of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Armed Forces Executive Committee. Besides the work as commanding officer I have also gained much experience in party work. I also try to use these in my daily work. In my judgment the growth of socialist democracy in society's life is a process and not a phenomenon. This is the same in the armed forces too with the organizational characteristic that the elements of democracy may prevail in working out the decisions but not in carrying them out, in interpreting the requirements. Nor is it the single-person responsibility of the commanding officer. Because of this then, some people understand the system of requirements of socialist democracy as if they had to dance in a sack. Even though the important thing is not the sack but the choreography. The sequence and size of the steps. Coordination of the human and social requirements with the organizational characteristics. This is what I strive for, and perhaps not without results.

[Question] You belong to the older generation of the professional force. Do you have friends in the staff of the higher unit, at the subordinate formations?

[Answer] ...I have been a communist for nearly 40 years...

My immediate circle of friends has developed primarily among my subordinates. I try to work in useful and effective cooperation with the members and secretary of the party committee. More than just the service relationship ties me also the the head of the political department...

This is the way I am in essence also with the commanding officers of the subordinate formations and also with their activity and political officers. Not only the service connects me to most of them. It derives from my age, from the path of my life that perhaps I understand easier those of the same age as I am and at times I am perhaps also more lenient with them. Because not only the tasks of the present but also the memories of the past tie me together with them.

[Question] Do you all accept the memories, the inheritance?

[Answer] Why should we not accept them? We consider the recent decades as our own, as the unforgettable test of our youth as its definitive experience and also as the responsibility of those who are active. Nowadays it is customary to speak critically of the 1950s. And more recently there have been more and more dissonant voices in the area of the press and literature even about the 1960s.

As an officer, commanding officer and committed communist I was an active participant of those years. If I hear that we made mistakes, I accept it. But it hurts my self-esteem if the purity of our intentions, the community value of our actions are questioned. There is no doubt that there were difficult time periods in building the armed forces, in fulfilling its social tasks, but with hard work and considerable sacrifices we always completed the tasks we were given. Trusting in our own strength we have gotten beyond the difficulties; obviously this is the way it will be also in the future.

8584/12948

CSO: 2500/29

HUNGARY

HUNGARY SIGNS ECONOMIC COOPERATION PLAN WITH ROMANIA

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 28 Sep 85 p 5

[Unsigned article: "Hungarian-Romanian Cooperation Plan Talks Concluded"]

[Text] Lajos Faluvegi, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the National Plan Office, held talks with Stefan Birlea, chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Romanian Socialist Republic, on 26-27 September in Budapest. Upon completion of the talks they signed a protocol containing the results of economic plan coordination between the two countries pertaining to the years 1986-1990.

The value of the mutual deliveries agreed upon for the years 1986-1990 exceeds 85 billion forints. This is roughly 30 percent higher than the value of trade exchange projected for the period 1981-1985.

Products of the machine industry make up nearly 60 percent of the agreed-upon deliveries. Products of the machine tool industry, foodstuffs industry machine manufacture, the instrument industry and the highway vehicle industry occupy an important place in our export. Highway vehicles continue to be significant in our import. In the period 1986-1990 it will be possible for us to import 120,000 Dacia passenger cars and 18,000 diesel powered ARO small trucks.

Our guest met with Peter Veress, minister of foreign trade, with whom he exchanged views concerning a workable program and conditions for the creation of a trade exchange agreement for the coming years. Stefan Birlea and his entourage left Budapest on Friday.

8984

CSO: 2500/30

POLAND

ELECTION PROCEDURES DETAILED

Electoral Commission Explains Vote Count

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Barbara Enholc-Narzynska, deputy chairman of the State Electoral Commission, by Wojciech Kazmierczak; date and location of interview not specified]

[Text] How and by whom will the election results be computed, and when will they be published? Barbara Enholc-Narzynska, deputy chairman of the State Electoral Commission, director of the Bible Society in Warsaw, answered these questions posed by a PAP reporter.

[Question] Who will compute the election results?

[Answer] First we must distinguish between computing election results and computing voting results. The process of computing voting results takes place in two stages. First, the members of precinct electoral commissions count the votes cast in the particular precincts, then the members of district electoral commissions total the data from the precincts. This concludes the stage of computing voting results. The records from the district commissions are submitted to the State Electoral Commission, which computes the election results.

[Question] You say: members of the electoral commissions, but who are these people?

[Answer] The commission members are appointed from among voters. They represent a broad political and socioprofessional cross-section of voters. More than 188,000 persons make up the precinct electoral commissions. Most of these are white-collar workers from the various professions, especially teachers, those employed in economics areas, social workers and employees of the justice administration. The share of workers ranges from 5 percent to 20 percent and the share of farmers falls between 6 percent and 28 percent. Many representatives of other social groups--artisans, pensioners and annuitants--are also involved in the commissions.

As for the sociopolitical cross-section of members, they include representatives of the PZPR and all political parties, with the percentage of nonparty members ranging from 22 percent to 40 percent. Many Catholics and members of other Christian faiths participate in the work of precinct electoral commissions. Some of the commission members already participated in election work during previous campaigns. Now their experience will be extremely useful. The situation is the same with regard to the district electoral commissions and the state commission. Over 200,000 individuals will be involved in the process of computing election results.

[Question] What are the technical aspects of the process of computing voting results?

[Answer] This is a fairly complex matter. The computing and recording of precinct voting results begins immediately following the end of voting. All commission members participate in this work. First, on the basis of voters' lists, including those persons added based on affidavits, the number of persons authorized to vote in the precinct is calculated. Next, in accordance with the ordained procedure, the commission safeguards the unused ballots. Then the ballot box is opened. The ballots pulled from the box constitute the sole basis for calculating voting results.

[Question] These are ballots that include voting for deputies from the district electoral list and the national list.

[Answer] Yes, they will differ in color. The voting results for each of these lists will be computed separately. First the commission computes the voting results for deputies elected from the district electoral list. All ballots are counted precisely, thereby yielding the number of persons that have submitted ballots.

The next order of business is to establish the number of votes cast for the particular candidates. The calculations are made on a special sheet. First the number of valid ballots with nothing crossed off (no canceled votes) is entered on the counting sheet next to the names of the candidates placed under position no 1 of each mandate. Of the group of ballots with canceled votes, those that are crossed off entirely and those on which all candidates have been crossed out are set aside. They are separated since no candidates are voted on even though the balloting is valid. Then the commission examines the remaining valid ballots and counts the votes cast for the particular candidates within the compass of each mandate. Each time a tally is made next to the candidate's name on the counting sheet. If, within the compass of a mandate, one candidate has been crossed off, the vote is given to the other person. The crossing off of both candidates on a given mandate causes no vote to be given to either of them. Then the votes cast for each candidate, counted on the ballots with no cancellations and on the ballots with cancellations, are totaled, and their total is entered on the counting sheet next to the particular names.

The computing of precinct voting results for deputies elected from the national electoral list is the same. The total number of ballots removed from the box, the number of invalid ballots and the number of valid ballots, with and without



cancellations, are counted in an identical manner. When they examine the valid ballots that contain cancellations, the commissions then give the votes only to those candidates whose names have not been crossed off. Next, just as in the case of the district lists, the record is made.

[Question] What is the role of the district electoral commission?

[Answer] The members of the district electoral commission verify both records obtained from each precinct. In particular, a check is made whether the names of the candidates are entered with the same spelling and order as that of the ballots. The commission members also check whether a greater number of votes cast has been entered than the number of those authorized to vote and whether the total of valid and invalid votes equals the number of votes cast. Moreover, in the voting record for the district electoral list, a check is made whether the total votes received by both candidates are not greater than the number of valid votes. As the records are received from the particular precincts, the commission notes their receipt on the control sheet and then makes the appropriate entries on the counting sheets. When all records from the precincts have been received, the number of votes cast for the particular candidates on the district level is totaled.

[Question] And how are the voting records submitted?

[Answer] The chairmen of the precinct electoral commissions or their deputies submit the records in secured envelopes to the authorized representatives of the district electoral commissions. The voting records drawn up by the district electoral commissions are submitted by the chairmen or deputy chairmen of these commissions to the authorized representatives of the State Electoral Commission. The duties of the administrative officials include ensuring the safe means of transport to transmit the election documents.

[Question] When you described the process of computing precinct voting results, you did not mention the stamp placed by the commission members next to the names of voters at the time that they are handed the ballot.

[Answer] No, I did not, for these stamps have no connection with the computation of voting results. They are made to prevent possible multiple voting.

[Question] This brings us to the final stage of computing results that takes place at the level of the State Electoral Commission.

[Answer] Based on the records received from districts, the PKW [State Electoral Commission] computes the Sejm election results from the particular district electoral lists and the national list. This is not just a mechanical count. Only those candidates are elected from the district electoral lists that have received more than half of the valid votes, if at least half of those authorized to vote in the electoral district have taken part in the voting. Only those candidates are elected from the national list that have received more than half of the valid votes, if at least half of the total number of those authorized to vote have done so. The PKW prepares a record

that includes the Sejm election results. In all these activities, delegates to the National Election Council may be present and may make remarks. The PKW is obliged to submit the election results to the public immediately following the conclusion of its work in the form of a public announcement in the press, on the radio and on television.

[Question] When can this occur?

[Answer] At this time, it is difficult to determine the final date of completion of the computations and the publication of election results. The PKW will have to take into consideration the voting results in precincts created abroad and on Polish oceangoing vessels as well. The records from abroad may be delayed in their arrival, especially those from Polish buildings. Last year the results of elections to the people's councils were known in 2 days. It is hard to say whether our commission also will succeed in computing the results this quickly. But haste is inadvisable here. It is not time that is of the essence, but honesty.

#### Number of Candidates, National-Provincial

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] In the PRL Sejm elections on 13 October we will elect 460 deputies. This is exactly the same number as in the previous election.

In the assumptions of the PRL Sejm Electoral Law submitted for society's consultation, it was proposed that the idea of changing this number be considered. However, the majority of those that expressed their opinions during the consultation were opposed to any changes.

Of the total number of 460 deputies, we will elect 410 from the district electoral lists and 50 from the national list. Thus, each voter will elect candidates for deputy from the electoral list of his own electoral district, depending upon the number of inhabitants in the district. This assumes one deputy mandate for every 90,000 residents. Each voter also will elect deputy candidates from the national list.

The PRL Sejm Electoral Law states that not more than 15 percent of the total number of deputies (or 69 deputies) may be elected from the national list. The PRL Council of State has decided that in this year's election, we will elect 50 deputies from the national electoral list, or less than 11 percent of the total number of deputies.

In the first place, the district electoral list is divided into the particular mandates. The electoral commission places two candidates each on each separate mandate in the order established by the electoral council. Only one of these, if he obtains more than half the votes in the required plurality, obtains the mandate. Meanwhile, the national electoral list includes as many candidates as it has mandates.

In the second place, only the voters of a given electoral district--a province or part of a province--will vote for candidates from the district electoral

list. All authorized PRL citizens will vote on the national list. In the case of the national list, the entire country is the electoral district.

#### Voting Procedures Presented

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5-6 Oct 85 pp 1, 5

[Text] Voting will take place on Sunday, 13 October, from 6 am until 10 pm. This is a general assumption. In cases warranted by the recommendations of voters, the precinct electoral commission, with the approval of the district electoral commission, may determine that voting will begin earlier.

The authorization to open the polls early applies to special cases, for example, border stations where freight trains are lined up and cross the border at 6 am or somewhat earlier, whose personnel could not vote under normal circumstances.

In voting precincts abroad, on Polish ships out at sea or on fishing trawlers, voting is held between 6 am and 10 pm local time. However, if the voting would conclude on the day after election day in Poland, the voting is held on the day preceding election day.

May One Vote Without Identification?

Yes, one may. A voter that has no identification (because it has been stolen or he has lost it, for example) may identify himself using another document that enables the precinct electoral commission to prove his identity. This may be a valid service identification card with a photograph, a retirement identification card or a pensioner's identification card.

If a voter possesses no document recognized by the precinct electoral commission to be sufficient to prove his identity, the identity of such a voter may be witnessed by two reliable witnesses known to the commission. Since voting precincts include not more than 3,000 residents and since the members of precinct electoral commissions are citizens living within the precinct, there ought to be no problem with confirming the identity of a voter that does not have the proper document and wishes to perform his civic duty of voting.

#### Class, Professional Breakdown of Population

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by: jas]

[Text] "We are in favor of--the effective performance of the leading role of the working class in society, the deepening of the worker-peasant alliance and the enrichment of the participation and active cooperation of the intelligentsia and all working people."  
(from the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Declaration)

Of the 12.19 million persons employed in the socialized economy, 7.558 million are workers. If we take into account the two basic sectors of the economy, industry and construction, their work generates 60.2 percent of the national income.

Of the 17.164 million persons employed in the national economy, 5.134 million work in agriculture. They generate 16.4 percent of the national income.

Of every statistical 1,000 Polish citizens, 139 work in agriculture, 135 work in industry, 36 work in trade, 34 work in construction and 29 work in transportation or communications.

We are a society of working people. Workers constitute the largest group. Historical, socioeconomic and systemic factors place the working class in the foremost position in society. Meanwhile, the political representation of the workers, the PZPR (2.1174 million members), is the party that, allied with the ZSL and the SD, has assumed a special responsibility for the development of the entire state and the future of the nation.

The social advancement of workers and peasants during the 40 years of People's Poland has determined the dynamic development of an intelligentsia with proletarian and plebeian backgrounds. In socialist Poland, in the state of the working people, class interests are expressed on a place with national interests through the implementation of the idea of social justice. Workers, peasants and the intelligentsia--these three groups together make up the vast majority of the society, a majority whose patriotism, activism in public life and good work determine the present and future of Poland.

8536

CSO: 2600/64

POLAND

UNION, LABOR ISSUES FEATURED

Work Safety Focus at Mining Conference

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 85 p 2

[Prepared by: sow]

[Text] Participants in the third international union conference on miners' and power industry workers' bhp [industrial safety and hygiene] concluded 3 days of deliberations in Katowice on 26 September. Representatives of union organizations from 28 countries participated in the conference.

On the final day of the deliberations, discussion continued on the problems and tasks of the union movement in the struggle to aspire continually to improve the working conditions of workforces, to perfect the related legislation and to spread knowledge of the regulations and principles of bhp among workers.

Lack of Awareness of Work Place Laws

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Bozena Jastrzebska]

[Text] Are workers aware of labor law, do they know what is their due from their employers? Are the employers or the administration of plants in turn aware of the law, and are they completely familiar with the binding regulations of this law?

These questions are only apparently rhetorical. A closer analysis of occurrences in the field of labor relations shows that not only workers know very little about labor law but, what is worse, administrative officials likewise have a poor awareness of it.

Some of the facts uncovered during the course of numerous checks made by the State Labor Inspectorate [PIP] are shocking. For example, in a study made of 24,000 personnel records of employees whose contracts were dissolved, only in 3,268 cases was there any evidence of an opinion rendered on the work of the dismissed individual, which would seem to be a basic document. Moreover, among the legal penalties used in 48,000 cases studied, nearly 19,000 were penalties not stipulated anywhere, neither in the labor code nor in plant regulations.

There were especially frequent violations of the regulations of labor law on overtime (and overtime pay). There were frequent instances of overtime work being done by employees that were authorized to work a shortened working day due to strenuous and harmful working conditions. Numerous examples of irregularities likewise were noted in reckoning monetary benefits for employees and in the use of illegal deductions.

These are alarm signals that cause us to reflect more seriously. Labor law cannot be only an adornment of the factory landscape.

#### Does It Comply With the Law?

This year the PIP embarked upon an extensive check of the observance of selected elements of the labor law in the plant, above all the observance of the legal rights of trade unions and the social labor inspectorate.

Why were these areas chosen? The intent is obvious. The importance of trade unions is growing; they are becoming a real power in the life of industrial enterprises. I quote OPZZ [National Council of Trade Unions] Deputy Chairman Anna Mierzynska:

"The labor code binds enterprise management to be concerned continually over the proper state of working conditions, wages and social/essential affairs. However, in very many plants, bhp questions are treated as secondary, yielding to production and economic matters. Thus, the full utilization by trade unions of legal rights including the proper exercise of control on labor conditions and the observance of employee rights should lead in plants to positive re-evaluations, to recognizing bhp matters as equal to production affairs."

A check was conducted in 233 plants, primarily large production plants in which nearly 40 percent of those employed are trade union members. Thus, this is a significant force and these organizations can achieve a great deal. This depends, however, on at least two premises: their own activism and the conditions created by plant administrations for the work of unions.

What did the study show? Basically, in all the plants that were checked, both the union organizations and the social labor inspectorate were guaranteed the proper material-organizational conditions for work. In general, the legal rights of unions also are observed.

In general--this does not mean always. The checks showed that in a number of cases, union suggestions and demands generally were not considered and the plant management made no effort to give even a formal answer to this. However, it is also true that most managements now show a greater tendency to react to union suggestions and demands.

#### Who Knows and Who Does Not Know?

During the check of the observance of the regulations of labor law by factory administrations, nearly 14,500 cases were studied in which, in accordance with the law, the administration was obliged to consult on a position with the plant union organization. In most cases this duty was fulfilled, but not in all.

It was shown that in one-fifth of the plants, there was no consultation with unions on bonus and awards regulations, vacation plans and the like. As a rule, all decisions that involve the dissolving of a contract are consulted upon, making it possible for unions to verify their legality and adherence to principle, but administrations do not consult with unions in cases where a contract is dissolved for reasons for which the employee is not to blame, despite the fact that this duty is clearly stated in the labor code.

Numerous irregularities also were noted in the examination of employee opposition to disciplinary penalties meted out to them. The labor code states that such opposition may be recognized or rejected only by an understanding with the plant union organization.

Why does this happen? Plant union organizations are not always aware of their rights and they do not always exercise a complete awareness of the regulations of labor law. This conclusion becomes irrefutably clear from an analysis of the previous study. And this is understandable. The organization of new unions is a process and their activists are only learning how to defend employee rights better and better.

They are just learning. Many organizations still do not possess either extensive experience or skill. At least several conclusions may be drawn from this.

#### First--Training

The first conclusion is that unionists as well as social labor inspectors (and perhaps the inspectors above all) should be trained. The activists themselves admit that they suffer from a lack of knowledge and information in the area of employee rights.

But should only unionists be trained? If the regulations of labor law are broken or, to put it delicately, overlooked in the enterprise, why does this happen? Is it due to a lack of knowledge? Is it due to neglect? Both reasons are unacceptable. In this context, we must question the role of the legal advisers that exist in every enterprise.

It likewise seems indispensable to set up a system of legal information for the employees themselves, to enable them to find out whether they are being treated fairly.

#### Cooperation in Union, Management Issues Needed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Cezary Rudzinski]

[Text] Cooperation or competition? This question may be stated another way: how do relations between the union organization and the employee self-government shape up? What is the opinion on this subject of the workforce of the KOBRA Pomeranian Leather Industry Plant, numbering a total of 3,500 persons in this multiplant enterprise?

Initially there was suspicion, then controversies arose, but now there is cooperation and its concrete results. This is what I hear at the party Plant Committee [KZ]. Jerzy Trucko, KZ first secretary, encourages us to see for ourselves.

The interested parties: Engineer Edmund Wejna, chairman of the employee council and Czeslaw Rebacz, chairman of the KOBRA PZPS [Pomeranian Leather Industry Plant] Employees Trade Union at Footwear Factory No 1 in Bydgoszcz, as well as Deputy Chairman Zenon Zawada, propose a joint conversation.

After a little while, the conversation paints a picture of difficult beginnings and the gradual finding of planes of cooperation. The lack of clear legal regulations and a clear division of roles between the employee self-government and the trade union caused friction. For example, who was to give an opinion on nonreturnable assistance recommendations and on housing allotments? Thus, the details outlined in the updated law on trade unions were very much needed.

But one cannot keep from wondering whether the differences in views emanated from the imprecise regulations alone. To put it simply: not only the issue of the scope of powers was and is important but also the practical possibilities for the partners to be effective are essential.

The council is the representative organ of the entire workforce. The union in factory no 1, the largest plant in the entire enterprise, must reconcile its position with the unions that exist in the other seven plants, even though it has the right and the duty to act on behalf of all the employees. This does not facilitate speedy, efficient action.

An example: the employee council proposed the institution of a so-called social charter in the enterprise. It was to contain regulations concerning all forms of the use of the workforce social fund by particular individuals.

It was intended that this venture would be treated as a solid source of information leading to the fairer distribution of funds. But it happened that some benefited from reduced-rate vacations often, while others did so rarely or not at all. This led to controversy among employees; nor was the trade union able to agree. Why?

It is a good form of control, say the unionists, and we are not opposed to it, but we must recognize the opinions of the other trade unions within the enterprise. There can be no doubt with regard to this matter.

There is also a lack of unanimity on the question of assistance. Unionists believe that this power belongs exclusively to them according to the statute and resolution of general assemblage. The council, on the other hand, has taken the position all along that a joint commission is needed.

The emotions and controversies, however, are clearly subsiding. Concrete results of cooperation are contributing to this. A draft of a new wage system in the multiplant, that awaits only confirmation by MPPiSS [Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs], is a joint workforce effort, but close



cooperation between the employee council and the trade union played an important role in its creation. Its implementation likewise will be supervised jointly by a commission made up of representatives of the self-government, the union, the party organization, the youth organization and management.

I hear--would that all the cooperation of the union and the council were as good as the work of this commission. Such cooperation is indispensable, at least with regard to the question of greatest current importance for KOBRA, overcoming economic problems. Thus, we may expect cooperation, a necessity of life, to become a reality (or perhaps it already is one). There is mutual interest here.

If the enterprise does not make a profit, the union will have nothing to share. This awareness is beginning to be uppermost in the minds of the plant aktiv.

The members of the employee council give priority to improving production quality, reducing reserves of materials and finished products and cutting costs in all fields. Workforce representatives also have passed a resolution obliging the director to reduce employment in the nonproduction sphere by 10 percent. The union approves of this, since it means changes in the organization of the enterprise and, with the tremendous shortage of manpower at KOBRA, no one is threatened with unemployment.

Recreation is a second important area of self-government/union cooperation. The center at Charzykowie is old, the lake water is dirty and the new center at Sitnicy near Rypin is more attractive but too small. Thus, a new vacation base for the workforce and a camping base for children must be sought jointly.

No less importantly, other spheres of cooperation are indicated by other urgent workforce needs. The sphere of working conditions, for example, lies within the domain of union activity, but it arouses much interest and a great desire to help on the part of the council.

A partnership already exists, I hear the representatives of both sides agree. We have common goals, but the methods and means for achieving them depend upon the rights and possibilities of both bodies.

And upon the willingness to offer mutual assistance, I add.

#### Frequent Questions on Self-Management

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by AG: "Matters of Importance to the Workforce Self-Government"]

[Text] Recently 3 years passed since our newspaper first carried the column "Matters of Importance to the Workforce Self-Government." This was in September 1982. In the first column with this headline, an expert from the Sejm Commission for Enterprise Employee Self-Government Affairs offered explanations regarding the resumption of the work of self-government organs and the procedure for conducting elections, as well as their importance.

In the 3 years that we have run the column, the number of letters to the editor has not dropped at all. The reasons for this may be various, for example, the fact that after each election there are always new workforce representatives on the employee councils. In any case, due to the length of this column, we are unable to answer all letters one after the other, especially if we already have published such answers several times. For this reason, we decided to offer in this issue general answers to several questions that have been brought up almost on a daily basis recently in letters and phone calls.

#### Most Frequent Violations

The most frequent violations of the legal regulations on the workforce self-government are based on the illegal restriction of the passive right of election to self-governmental organs, particularly to the employee council; on the election of the employee council by the general assembly of delegates; on the failure to observe the requirement of proportionality in determining the number of employee council members representing the particular organizational units that make up the enterprise. There also have been cases of the holding of elections in the plants of multiplant enterprises before the election of the enterprise employee council and the passing of the statute. Meanwhile, only the enterprise workforce self-government statute can provide for the right to appoint the plant employee council and to define which issues concerning this plant may be submitted to its employee council by the enterprise employee council.

#### Restricting the Passive Right of Election

The law on the workforce self-government does not provide for restrictions on the passive right of election with regard to delegate assemblies. These restrictions occur in the elections of the enterprise employee council. The following may not be elected: employees working at the enterprise for less than 2 years and, moreover: the enterprise director and his deputies, the head accountant, the legal adviser, plant managers and their deputies and employees delegated to work outside the enterprise for more than 6 months. The restriction on the passive right of election for those persons that perform leadership roles in political and union organizations applies only to elections of the presidium of the employee council, which is not an organ of self-government and hence cannot act on behalf of the council, pass binding resolutions, express opinions regarding persons and organs outside the self-government or conduct checks on the work of the enterprise that it within the competence of the employee council. By persons performing a leadership function in the political and union organization is understood: the chairman, the deputy chairman, the secretary and the treasurer. A member of the electoral commission may be a candidate in elections but he may not be a member of the electoral commission in the district in which he is a candidate to the organs of self-government.

#### One Individual As Delegate and Member of the Employee Council

The regulations of the law do not contain any provisions that prohibit the election of the same individual to the employee council while he simultaneously

has been granted the mandate of delegate to participate in the work of a delegates' assembly. There is no direct hierarchy between the organs of self-government, despite the fact that, according to article 10 item 3 of the law on the workforce self-government, each year the general assembly assesses the work of the employee council. The view that the resultant form of control exercised by the general assembly over the employee council precludes the possibility of electing the same person as delegate and member of the employee council has no legal or rational justification.

#### Completing the Makeup of the Council

Article 17 of the law on the workforce self-government was formulated in such a way that the employees of particular units making up the enterprise may be represented on the employee council in proportion to the number of electors. This regulation provides for the duty to create conditions for the attainment of such a state, but it does not define whether elections are faulty if the employees of these units do not take advantage of their guaranteed possibility of representation on the council. The workforce self-government statute should anticipate such a situation. There are no formal obstacles preventing the employee council from operating in reduced numbers if the failure to fill mandates is the result of the will of voters.

#### Expiration of the Mandate

The workforce self-government statute should define in detail when the mandate of a delegate or member of the employee council expires. Based on the principles in general use, it should be assumed that the mandate expires as a result of: the death of an employee, the relinquishment of the mandate, the loss of the electoral right or the dismissal of a delegate or member of the employee council by the voters before the term has elapsed. At the same time, the statute should state whether a change in the place of employment causes a loss of the mandate due to the nature of the electoral district within the enterprise framework or whether the right of representation remains despite the change in the place of work.

#### How Terms Should Be Determined

The employee may not perform the function of employee council member without interruption for more than two terms. The regulations of article 15 paragraph 3 of the law on the workforce self-government apply to the organs of self-government elected in accordance with this law and making use of the powers included within it during the period of the 2-year term. Thus, full terms of self-governmental organs are only those terms that fulfill the conditions of the law. Since, for organizational reasons, elections to the organs of self-government frequently are not completed within 1 day and, moreover, since there is sometimes the need to hold supplementary elections, making the election deadline the basis for determining the beginning of the term, it would be valid to calculate its course from the end of the election. In such a case, the self-government organ could begin working immediately following the conclusion of the election. In the event that the statute stated that the beginning of the term will be the first general meeting of

workers (delegates), the period of the exercise of the powers of the organs of self-government would begin immediately with this meeting. Until the time of the general meeting, the self-governmental organ, recognized as being outside the term, could not begin working, and the first general meeting would be called by the electoral commission as a continuation of the electoral procedure.

8536

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POLAND

# LIMITS TO TOLERANCE, SAYS BARCIKOWSKI

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Kazimierz Barcikowski in ECHA KRAKOWA, 3 October 1985]

[Text] "Absolute sameness of opinions is utopia, and on the other hand it is undesirable because it leads to stagnation. At this point we could quote the classicists, who speak of conflicts as being the motor for progress. But this would be a dismissal of the problems.

It is a fact that many divisions can be made in our society, and we are not talking about an idealistic obliteration of all kinds of differences in viewpoints, ways of thinking, attitudes and opinions. The party, of which I am a member, and the Sejm's Eighth Assembly defined the plane which can be achieved and which is also indispensable. We call it the line of reconciliation and struggle. By reconciliation we mean agreement as to basic, important decisions, including those involving the political system, while maintaining the right of others to think differently. The struggle, on the other hand, concerns attempts to weaken the socialist state and destroy the established legal order.

This formula of reconciliation and struggle, by its very nature, leaves a great deal of room for discussion and action. Therefore, we want to reach a joint position by way of different viewpoints. But if I, myself, postulate realistic thinking I realize that it is impossible to satisfy everyone with every decision that is made. I must also assume that after every decision many different opinions and positions will appear. It appears that we need a tolerance which is guaranteed by law and does not go beyond the law."

9295

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POLAND

# FIRMS' PLEA FOR PAYROLL TAX RELIEF

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Wieslaw Wesolowski in TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, 4 October 1985]

[Text] Demands have appeared recently to reward carelessness. At a conference at which enterprises offered suggestions on reform to Minister W. Baka, it was suggested several times that all payroll-tax offenses be forgiven so that in the "let us love one another" spirit they could go into the new long-term plan with a clean slate.

We are referring to a group of producers who fell into a PFAZ (State Vocational Activization Fund) trap because they inflated wages at their plants with no basis in productivity or financial results, so that now they are paying all of their profits into taxes and will have to reduce wages in the future. That is how the contest with the central authorities, who control the economy, for higher wages and for employees attracted by those higher wages, ended for a group of enterprises--at the expense of their neighbors.

A massive, ruinous movement of workers is taking place on our market, a movement fed in large part by employers who feel that the best, and sometimes the only, way that they can fulfill their plan is by offering higher wages. Hundreds of thousands of persons are floating in the wage orbit, finding higher wages in return for nothing. It has become impossible to stop the movement of this carousel without eliminating those who turned on the switch. They continue to believe themselves to be irreplaceable. They calmly assumed enormous tax burdens, expecting that in the end there will be an amnesty, another concession. Because nothing portends such a turn of events they are appealing publicly for understanding and absolution.

These are naive expectations, because the application of tax relief would have a disastrous effect on our labor market and also on our entire economy. Such a gesture, which would undoubtedly be greeted with enthusiasm by all those involved, would mean a complete loss of face on the part of all those who held wages in check, risking their own careers in explaining how dishonest it is to take money without showing higher production. A bonus for lack of concern can only be paid at the expense of those who are hardworking and thrifty."

POLAND

# COUNCIL OF MINISTERS VIEWS YEAR-OLD PRESS LAW AS SUCCESSFUL

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] The problems associated with the way the press law works in practice were among the subjects of the first working session of the Press Council of the presidium of the Council of Ministers on the 26th of this month. As was recalled, the meeting of the Council of Ministers on 5 July had been devoted to these matters, at which time the Council was briefed on the evaluation of the process of facilitating the receipt of information by the press, reaction to criticism in press and the actions of the press spokesman of the various departments of government administration in this area.

In discussing the conclusions of that meeting the head of the Press Council, editor Jozef Krolkowski, stated that the government fulfills honestly its obligation to pass on information to the press and thus to all the citizens about the activities undertaken by the state administration at all levels, about its plans, ideas and also the results of the work of the state agencies. The foregoing results from the openness of the state's activities, wide openness of our life and is proof of the government's serious and not chance approach to the dialog with the population.

After a year since the introduction of the press law, it can be stated that the principle of the administration's obligation to provide information to the press was firmly established, as well as the obligation to respond to critical publicity. The Press Bureau of the Government plays a positive role in achieving this by organizing about 150 conferences a year. The press spokesman of various departments are improving in fulfilling their obligations, even though some of them are still placing obstacles in the path to the acquisition of information. Still there is no proof of blatant blocking of information. On the other hand the situation is worse with regard to the reaction to the press criticism. The majority of interested institutions or organizations respond in a constructive manner to complaints expressed in the press, but in some instances it is impossible to detect in the exhibited attitude an intention to correct the criticized, negative phenomena. This problem was also touched upon during the meetings with candidates to the Sejm.

Let us remember that the Council of Ministers has made it obligatory for the ministers, chairmen of central offices and provinces to intensify

actions leading to consistent carrying out the regulations and executive acts of the press law, especially in the area of making information more accessible to the press and also reaction to criticism expressed in the press.

The Press Council received information about lawsuits pertaining to matters of press that were brought before lower courts. It was recalled that the press law allowed to forcibly exact information from any institution or organization that is obligated to deliver it. So far not one case was brought before the NSA with the demand of exacting a certain definite information. This is a positive sign, even though it may also mean that the editors give up on extorting that special information. This does not mean that the appropriate regulation of the press law is dead. It has a considerable preventive influence, because since it is possible to obtain information through the courts, the pressure is on the agency to deliver it in a regular way.

The second group of cases has to do with the protection of personal property. These are not new cases, since they were recorded also before the press bill was implemented. It is evident, though, from the investigation of the Ministry of Justice that the number of these cases is not increasing, since in 1983 there were 28 of them last year--24, and in the about 9 months of this year--only 16.

The majority of this type of cases, namely 8, take place in Warsaw, while in other regions just 1 or 2 per area. A large number of cases having to do with problems of the press and appearing before the NSA end in conciliatory decisions.

The Press Council accepted a work schedule for the coming year. It plans a revision of problems connected with the growth of the press, radio and television for the years 1986-1990, conditions of becoming a professional journalist, system of education and upgrading of the newspaper-cadres. There will also take place a review of the functioning of the press, radio and television in the light of the new press law.

A number of committees to deal with the problems of the Press Council were organized. A committee to deal with the problems of working as a professional journalist will deal with the privileges and duties of a journalist, the ethics of the journalistic profession and the practical conditions of the work. The committee to the press law will deal, among others, with problems of making information accessible to the press, functioning of the press criticism, reviewing questions, complaints, requests of interpretation of legal matters. Another committee was appointed to deal with the material-technical basis of the press and radio, and a committee to deal with matters of education and upgrading of the journalistic cadre, and for research in the science of journalism.

The press Council was also informed by Z G of the Journalists' Association of the PPR about their plans for a new collective agreement.

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POLAND

## PERSONNEL CHANGES REPORTED

### New Science-Tech Undersecretary

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the recommendation of the minister-director of the Office for Scientific and Technological Progress and Applications, appointed Magister engineer Adam Graczynski as undersecretary of state in this office.

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Adam Graczynski was born in 1939 in Gorlice of intelligentsia parents. He completed Silesian Polytechnic with a master of chemical engineering degree. He has over 20 years' work experience in chemical plants and scientific research units. Among other things, he was production chief at Katowice's superphosphate factory (1963-1967); deputy director of the Phosphor Fertilizer Factory in Ubocz near Gryfon Slaski; and the Chemical Fertilizer Enterprise in Dabrowa Gornicza up to 1974. Starting in 1974, he directed the Research and Development Center for Plastics Manufacturing in Mikolow. Then, up to 1982, he was deputy director of the Plastics and Paints Industry Institute in Gliwice. Since 1982 he was the director of the Plastics Plant in Tychy. He has made many significant contributions in technology and applications. In the past few years he was awarded the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology Award for these contributions. Also, he won the Minister of Chemical Industry Award twice. He is the author of many patents, useful models and applications. He is a PZPR member.

### New Undersecretary, Ministry of Agriculture

Warsaw RZECZSPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] On the recommendation of the minister of agriculture and food economy, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, appointed Dr Eng Stanislaw Sliwinski as undersecretary of state in this ministry. Stanislaw Sliwinski was born in 1937 in Stoke Stare, Tarnobrzeg Province, of peasant parents. He graduated from the Central School of Agriculture in Warsaw with a master of agricultural engineering degree. In 1971 he obtained a doctor of agricultural sciences

degree. He has over 20 years work experience in agriculture, agricultural institutions and agricultural scientific research units as well as in state administrative work. Among other things, he worked as an agriculturist at the Powiat Union of Agricultural Circles and then as the director of agriculture at the Dankow Plant Cultivation Station. From 1964-1972 he worked as a researcher at the Institute of Cultivation, Fertilization and Soil Science in Pulawy. From 1972 to 1977, he was the chief specialist at the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and director of the Central Agricultural Library in Warsaw. In 1967 he began working at the Office of the Council of Ministers as a consultant on agricultural problems. He is a PZPR member.

New Undersecretary, Ministry of Finances

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Aug 85 p 2

[Text] On the recommendation of the minister of finance, the chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed Magister Jan Dziewonski as undersecretary of state in this ministry. Jan Dziewonski was born in 1928 in Krakow of working class parents. He studied at the Szczecin Higher School of Economics and then at Szczecin Polytechnic where he obtained a masters degree in economics. He also completed post graduate studies at the Department of Finances and Statistics at the Main School of Planning and Statistics. From 1947 to 1952 he worked in socialized plants in Szczecin, including the Office Materials Factory and the United Industrial Gases Plants in positions related to planning, financing and accounting. then, up to 1972, he worked with control and inspection inspectorates in Krakow and Warsaw, including many years as provincial inspector for the Finance Department of the Provincial People's Council. In 1975 he was promoted to director of the District Administration for Revenues and Financial Controls in Warsaw. Since 1977 he has been the director of the Department of Taxes and Fees at the Ministry of Finances. He is a PZPR member.

Civil Militia General Heads Tariff Office

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Aug 85 p 2

[Text] On the recommendation of the minister of foreign trade and the minister of internal affairs, the chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed MO [Citizens' Militia] Brigade General Jerzy Cwiek as chairman of the Main Office of Tariffs. Jerzy Cwiek was born in 1930 in Masznia, Skiernowicki Province, of peasant parents. He earned a master of administration degree. He joined the MO when he was 20 years old. In 1952 he graduated fromt MO Officers School in Slupsk. Thereafter he served continuously in increasingly responsible positions, including 20 years in director positions. Among other things, he was director of the Office for Combating Economic Crimes at the MO Main Headquarters in Warsaw, the commander of the Warsaw MO, and deputy chief commander of the MO. He is a PZPR member.

11899  
CSO:2600/27

POLAND

READER COMMENTS ON ANTI-ALCOHOL CAMPAIGN EFFECTIVENESS

Warsaw I.T.D. in Polish No 38, 22 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] In the Old Town in Warsaw, a group from a church brotherhood for sobriety was picketing a government liquor store and calling for abstinence. The names of members of the group were registered by some policemen; later they were found guilty of meeting illegally and in accordance with law had to pay a fine. The forces keeping order acted fast and the punitive decision expedited

Certainly in the future, before the subsequent action the picketing group will turn to the appropriate agency for the required permit and the law will no longer be broken. Because the law is law and everybody must obey it.

This is what I was thinking while walking along the Zabkowska Street on the Praga, not far from the Old Town. A beautiful summer evening was conducive to reflecting upon the philosophy of law. Unfortunately my thoughts were disrupted by calls of picketing street vendors and their tempting suggestions: "Gentleman, a bottle, wine, beer?"

Suddenly a well known uniform bolted into view. A policeman approached one of the women peddlers. For a short while they discussed something and then he walked away. He obviously decided against a punitive action in favor of an educational approach.

Here on the corner of Zabkowska and Brzeska people are so saturated with the pure idea of law that even the inspector from the Tiger Brigade becomes a uniformed St. Francis.

12470/12899  
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POLAND

#### BRIEFS

DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING--The Provincial Defense Committee deliberated in Ostroleka on realizing the tasks of bringing up young people to be patriotic and defense minded, and of protecting state and official secrets in the region's plants and institutions. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Sep 85 p 2] 11899

RZESZOW DEFENSE COMMITTEE--THE Provincial Defense Committee deliberated 13 September in Rzeszow. The status of realizing the production tasks and the socioeconomic situation of Rzeszow's industry based on five enterprises were evaluated. Much attention was paid to employment, cooperation, discipline and material supplies for industry. Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda participated in the meeting. He was also briefed on the second stage of the construction of the thermal-electric plant in Zalez near Rzeszow. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Sep 85 p 8] 11899

PZPR, HEALTH CARE UNION TALKS--Vice Premier Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, met with a delegation of members of Federation of Health Care Unions that was led by Dr Alfred Owoc. Health care problems and the medical cadre situation were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14-15 Sep 85 p 2] 11899

PROSECUTOR GENERAL VISITS YUGOSLAVIA--Jozef Zyta, prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic, visited Yugoslavia for several days at the invitation of Milosz Bakic, federal prosecutor of Yugoslavia. In addition to talks at the Federal Prosecutor General Department, during which information and experiences were exchanged regarding activities of organs of prosecution and administration of justice in both countries, J. Zyta met with Llijaz Kutesz, chairman of the Association of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Borislav Krajina, union secretary for the Yugoslav Judiciary and Union Administration Organization; and the directors of the Supreme Court of Yugoslavia. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 85 p 6] 11899

GDR JOURNALISTS VISIT--Jerzy Jaskiernia, general secretary of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council met with 10 GDR journalists who were in Poland to attend a course to improve knowledge of the Polish language that was organized by the Democratic Party of the Polish People's Republic. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Sep 85 p 2] 11899

29 November 1985

ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR IN GDANSK--Ion Tescu, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania, visited Brigade General Mieczyslaw Cygan, governor of Gdansk Province, and Bohdan Daszkiewicz, secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Sep 85 p 2] 11899

SD LEADER AT PRON SIEDRADZ MEETING--Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, chairman of the SD [Democratic Party] Central Committee met with representatives of Siedradz Province's political and administrative authorities. He also participated in a meeting of SD activists involved in PRON work. The progress of citizen consultation meetings with candidates for the Sejm was discussed, and he was apprised of the suggestions made by citizens at numerous meetings. The assumptions of the province's socioeconomic plan for 1986-1990 and the tasks associated with the final stage of the election campaign were also considered. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Sep 85 p 2] 11899

ZSL APPEALS COMMITTEE MEETS--The sixth plenary session of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Main Appeals Commission was held in Warsaw with the participation of the chairmen of the Party's provincial appeals commissions. A wide spectrum of problems of interest to ZSL appeals organs, members and cells was discussed. Vice Premier Roman Malinowski, chairman of the NK [Supreme Committee], referring to the positions taken by the members of the Main Appeals Commission, discussed the problems of the Party's activities vis-a-vis the situation in Poland, in agriculture and in the rural areas. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Sep 85 p 2] 11899

PUBLISHING UNIONS REACH AGREEMENT--A general agreement on the implementation of a plant-wide pay system was signed between the Administration of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch RSW [Worker Cooperative Publishing House] and the Federation of RSW and Agency Unions as well as the Federation of Plant Union Organizations for RSW Service and Distribution Enterprises and Divisions. After this agreement is registered with the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, it will forge new paths toward concluding plant-wide pay agreements in RSW publishing, distribution and service agencies. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Sep 85 p 2] 11899

OPZZ, MINING UNIONS MEET--The Ninth Assembly of the Federation of Metallurgical Worker Unions deliberated in Katowice on 17 September. The tasks related to the social inspection of work in the context of the Federation's 35 years of activities were discussed. Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the Federation and OPZZ [expansion unknown] chairman, conducted the deliberations. Henryk Kowalski, the chief labor inspector, participated in the meeting. Stanislaw Kluba, from Walbrzych's Linodrut, and Franciszek Ozimek, from the Malapanew Metallurgical Plant, were awarded Chivalry Crosses of the Order of Reborn Poland. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Sep 85 p 2] 11899

BRITISH AMBASSADOR VISITS PRON--The British ambassador to Poland, John A. L. Morgan, visited Jerzy Jaskiernia, secretary general of the PRON National Council, on 17 September. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Sep 85 p 2] 11899

CONVICTION FOR RECTORY DAMAGE--The Stalowa Wola Regional Court tried in short order the case of 30-year-old Leszek B., a Stalowa Wola resident, who was accused of breaking into St. Florian's rectory and demolishing it, including the destruction of religious pictures and the breaking of windows. Leszek B. was drunk at the time. He was subdued by the priests and turned over to the Citizens' Militia. The court sentenced him to 1 year of imprisonment, which is not yet final. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Sep 85 p 5] 11899

SZALAJDA AT MEDICAL ACADEMY, PAPER FACTORY--Vice Premier Z. Szalajda visited the Warsaw Academy of Medicine Clinic on 18 September. He was apprised of the status of the Clinic's work, and he officially opened for business the 600-bed Block D of the Intern Institute. He discussed at length the possibility of additional equipment for the Academy's diagnostic departments to utilize more fully the Institute's clinic. Stanislaw Kukuryka, the minister of construction and construction materials industry, and A. Konaszyc, the vice minister of health and social welfare, participated in the meeting. On that same day, Vice Premier Z. Szalajda and Jerzy Wozniak, minister of materials management, visited Warsaw Paper Plant in Jeziorna, near Warsaw. Based on the experiences of this plant, which produces a wide variety of paper products, knowledge was gained about the problems of the paper industry, its expansion, modernization and future prospects and about eliminating the paper shortage. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Sep 85 p 5] 11899

HUNGARIAN EDITION OF JARUZELSKI'S SPEECHES--A selection of Wojciech Jaruzelski's speeches made between 5 October 1980 and 22 December 1984, has appeared in print in Hungary. The book, entitled "About Socialist Renewal," was published by the Kossuth Political Publishing House in Budapest. In writing about the book, MTI [expansion unknown] states that the speeches elucidate the development of political, social and economic events in Poland after 1980 and the complex system of conditions under which the policy of socialist renewal is being carried out. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 85 p 7] 11899

ELECTION TALKS AT TARNOW PRON--During the Plenum of Tarnow's Provincial PRON, which was attended by Stanislaw Opalko, Provincial Committee first secretary and PZPR Politburo Central Committee member, and Jerzy Jaskiernia, secretary general of the PRON National Council, the current stage of the pre-election campaign in the region was recapitulated, and the tasks of the movement's councils and cells over the next several weeks were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 85 p 5] 11899

HUNGARIAN CULTURAL-EDUCATION TALKS--The 12th meeting of the Polish-Hungarian Mixed Commission on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation was held in Warsaw. The purpose of the meeting was to evaluate the realization of the plan for cultural and scientific cooperation for 1981-1985, especially the presentation of Polish culture in Hungary and Hungarian culture in Poland and the possibility of expanding this cooperation. The commission's evaluation of Polish-Hungarian cooperation in culture, science and education was positive. The commission also resolved to improve conditions for cooperation, to repeat successful forms of cooperation and to seek new forms of cooperation to expand and intensify direct cooperation between interested institutions and organizations. The meeting was co-chaired by Gabor Foediak, Hungary's vice

minister of education and culture, and Wacław Janas, Poland's vice minister of culture and art. Witold Nawrocki, director of the PZPR Central Committee Department of Culture, and Kazimierz Zygulski, minister of culture and art, met with the chairman of the Hungarian delegation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 85 p 5] 11899

HUNGARIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL REP VISITS--A delegation from the Office of National Councils of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, headed by Minister Lajos Papp, visited Poland at the invitation of the minister of administration and local economy. In talks with Division General Włodzimierz Oliwa and members of the administration of the Ministry of Administration and Local Economy, experiences were exchanged in the area of improving the functioning of territorial state administrative organs. Special attention was paid to the problem of serving citizens directly in state offices. Minister Jerzy Breitkopf, chancellery chief of the Council of State, met with the delegation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 85 p 5] 11899

OLSZOWSKI RECEIVES GREEK VISITOR--Stefan Olszowski, minister of foreign affairs, met with Aleksander Lambriadis, secretary general of the Polish-Greek Friendship Society, on 19 September. A. Lambriadis is a known activist in the area of cultural and economic affairs between Poland and Greece. He is the half-brother of Jerzy Iwanow Szajniewicz, the Greek and Polish hero shot by the Nazis on 4 January 1943 in Athens, who was posthumously awarded Poland's Virtuti Militari Cross and Greece's highest military award, the Chiron Ariston Andios, for exceptional service in the struggle against fascism. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Sep 85 p 2] 11899

FOREIGN DELEGATIONS AT ZSL CELEBRATION--On 21 September Vice Premier Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee [NK], received foreign delegations that came to Warsaw to celebrate the 90th anniversary of the people's political movement. He told the guests about the anniversary's political and ideological foundations, and he characterized the contribution and work of the people's movement in the development of Poland. He described ZSL's activities to further Poland's socioeconomic development, especially in resolving important problems in food production, agriculture and in the rural areas. He also informed the delegates about ZSL's international activities, emphasizing the party's increasing involvement to strengthen peace and resolving other important matters and problems. The following NK administration members participated in the meetings: Józef Koziol, NK vice chairman; Bogdan Krolewski, Presidium member and NK secretary; Jan Czaja, director of the NK Foreign Department; and Witold Lipski, chairman of the NK Foreign Commission. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Sep 85 p 5] 11899

GROOMING FUTURE CIVIL SERVANT--Brigade General Władysław Honkisz, director of the PZPR Central Committee Political Cadre Department, met with students from the Center for Postgraduate Training for State Administration Workers. General Honkisz presented the main direction of activities resulting from the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. In turn, the Center's students presented their views based on their professional work. They spoke about the positives as well as the difficulties in implementing the principles of cadre policy. They also indicated forms and methods of activities in state administration to improve

the effectiveness of its functioning. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Sep 85 p 5] 11899

MONGOLIAN FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS--Daramyn Jordon, first deputy foreign affairs minister of the MRL [Mongolian People's Republic] and member of the MPLR [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee, visited Poland from 19 to 22 September. He was received by Wlodzimierz Natoria, director of the PZPR central Committee Foreign Affairs Department; Jan Majewski, director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic; and Henryk Klimczak, undersecretary of state at the Office of the Council of Ministers. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs reviewed the status of bilateral relations in all areas. Views were exchanged on the most important international problems, especially those in Europe and Asia. The action undertaken to develop further the multilateral relations between both countries, which is being promoted by the close cooperation of the MPRL and PZPR, was praised highly. In international affairs, the significance of cooperation among the socialist countries to defend peace and to strengthen international security in Europe, Asia and other continents was emphasized. The Soviet initiatives and proposals to stop the arms race and the militarization of space were fully supported. J. Majewski and D. Jordon signed an agreement on cooperation between the foreign affairs ministers of the MRL and Polish People's Republic. The Mongolian guest visited Krakow's monuments and Wieliczka's salt mine. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Sep 85 p 5] 11899

TURKISH CULTURAL EXCHANGE SET--In honor of the Warsaw visit of Ankara's Presidential Symphony Orchestra, Muammer Akcer, the Turkish ambassador, and Mehmet Erten, the director general of the orchestra, presented a memorial plaque to Romuald Kunatow, an advisor for many years at the Polish embassy in Ankara, in recognition of his contribution in the development of cultural cooperation between the two countries. In delivering the award, the ambassador emphasized that cultural relations between Turkey and Poland are expanding continuously. An example of this is the visit of the Ankara orchestra, which will participate in "Warsaw Autumn" festivities and visit other Polish cities as well. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Sep 85 p 3] 11899

FRENCH-POLISH TOURISM TALKS RESUMED--After a 4-year lapse, representatives of 20 French travel agencies are meeting in Warsaw with representatives of Polish travel agencies and tourist organizations. The 2-day meeting is dedicated to expanding mutual tourist contacts. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Sep 85 p 3] 11899

ECONOMIC 'SCHIZOPHRENIA' REDUCED--Here is a fragment of Zenon Rudny's article in ODRODZENIA. "Our relative standard of living does not match our propaganda. But the courage to discuss difficult economic themes, and not only that, and encouraging expectations means that the press is instrumental in reducing a certain anomaly in the awareness of two value systems: one for private use and the other for official use. This schizophrenia must be healed if society is to be healthy. (...) The truth should be told that will serve to improve the economy quickly and the credibility of the system in the public's consciousness. I believe too many sacrifices were made by generations of people to build a better world for socialism in Poland to remain in permanent



crisis or to be broken into small pieces. Thus, propaganda should reflect social practice to be more effective in combating that which is harmful--social and labor pathology, and in creating more effective economic structures." [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21-22 Sep 85 p 8] 11899

LABOR LAW AMENDMENTS--The Commission to Amend the Labor Code held its second meeting on 8 October. The meeting, which was conducted by the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, Stanislaw Gebala, dealt with those matters which at the first meeting had been deemed to be most urgent and which, for social and economic reasons, had to be reported on during the first stage of the work, i.e., by the end of the month. Among the most urgent matters is the preparation of a proposal aimed at improving the managing of an enterprise. The Commission called upon experts to make a detailed report on three subjects connected with the forthcoming amendment to the labor law: the legal status of the manager, the application of labor code provisions to economic reform, and the means by which social discipline in labor relations can be improved. In the case of the latter, all regulations now in effect must be fully listed and examined to determine their effectiveness. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Oct 85 p 2] 9295

AWARDS TO SOVIET MINERS--Fifteen Soviet miners, workers in the KARAGANDAUGOL and KARAGANDAGORMASZ production associations, were awarded Polish medals and diplomas as an expression of recognition of their work. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Oct 85 p 7] 9295

NEW AWARD RULES FOR ART INSTITUTIONS--On 9 October, the chairman of the Council of Ministers signed an ordinance stating new rules for the rewarding of employees of art institutions. The draft decree was submitted by the Minister of Culture and Art after consultation with trade unions, the Union of Polish Actors, and the Association of Polish Musicians. The National Culture Council also approved the draft. The decree constitutes an implementation of the law on art institutions. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Oct 85 p 2] 9295

PZPR INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION MEETING--A meeting of the PZPR CC International Commission was held under the chairmanship of PZPR CC Politburo member and Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski. In his talk the Commission chairman reported on the visit of Poland's party-government delegation in Cuba and the participation of the Polish delegation, headed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Wojciech Jaruzelski, in the 40th Anniversary observances of the UN General Assembly. Olszowski also reported the results of his talks with the foreign ministers of a number of countries, conducted in New York. The following took part in the discussion: Wlodzimierz Natorf, Zdzislaw Daniliuk, Pawel Kaminski, Albert Kosowski, Zenon Czech, Andrzej Wietrzykowski, Jozel Woloch, Zdzislaw Grzelak, Miroslaw Dackiewicz and Tadeusz Witoslawski. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Oct 85 p 2] 9295

ASSOCIATE JUDGES APPOINTED--A ceremony at which 102 associate judges were appointed was held in the Provincial Court in Warsaw on 10 October. Diplomas attesting to passing of a judgeship examination were handed out by Minister of Justice Lech Domeracki. The future judges were sworn in. The ceremony was attended by the deputy chairman of the Council of State, Kazimierz Secomski, and the director of the PZPR CC Cadre Policy Department, Wladyslaw Honkisz. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct p 2] 9295

CHINA AIR CONNECTION TALKS--Poland and China okayed a draft agreement on air transportation between the two countries (after talks with civilian aviation experts). The plan is that regular flights between Warsaw and Peking will be scheduled. It is possible that regular flights will begin next year. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 85 p 4] 9295

JARUZELSKI BOOK AT FRANKFURT BOOK FAIR--A collection of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski's speeches, published in Great Britain by Pergamon Press, was displayed Thursday at the Polish publishers' stall at the International Book Fair in Frankfurt. The book also contains an interview granted by the Polish leader to Robert Maxwell, publisher of Pergamon Press. A book by deputy premier M. F. Rakowski, "A Difficult Dialogue," which appeared on the FRG market in a German translation published by Econ Verlag, was also on display. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 85 p 7] 9295

INTERPARTY PLENUM--Protection and establishment of a natural environment heads the list of problems connected with man's economic activity, it was stated at the 10 October joint plenary meeting of PZPR, ZSL and SD Provincial Committees in Bydgoszcz. Invited representatives of Christian organizations, signatories to PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth), took part in the meeting. Deputy premier Edward Kowalczyk and Stefan Jarzebski, director of the Office of Environmental Protection and Water Economy, participated in the deliberations. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Oct 85 p 2] 9295

CZECHOSLOVAK FOREIGN MINISTRY VISITS--Talks were held by the Polish and Czechoslovak foreign ministries concerning relations with West Germany and the problem of West Berlin. Department director J. Fekecz represented the Polish side and department director M. Kadnar the Czechoslovak side. The Czechoslovak delegation was received by E. Kucza, deputy minister for foreign affairs. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-13 Oct 85 p 2] 9295

YUGOSLAV CC SECRETARY VISITS--Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, visited Poland at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee. The Yugoslavian guest was received by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee secretary and Politburo member. During the friendly talk, in which the SFRY ambassador, Milivoje Maksic, also took part, many problems were brought up which were connected with the execution of decisions made during the official friendly visit of first Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski in Yugoslavia in July. Information was exchanged on preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress and the 13th LCY Congress. Stanislav Stojanovic also met with Prof Marian Orzechowski, candidate member for the PZPR CC Politburo and rector of the PZPR Social Sciences Academy. In the talks which the executive secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia held with the director of the Foreign Department, Wlodzimierz Natorf, the cooperation of both parties in the last two years was evaluated and plans for future mutual contacts were agreed upon. During his stay in Krakow, Stanislav Stojanovic met with the first secretary of the PZPR Krakow Committee, Jozef Gajewicz. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-13 Oct 85 p 2] 9295

CZECHOSLOVAK PARTY OFFICIAL VISITS--On 7-11 October, at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee, a workers' delegation from the CPCZ Central Committee Department of Agriculture, Processing Industry and Water and Forest Economy, with Zdenek Hoffman, assistant director of this Department, visited Poland. The object of its interest was the present and future development of agriculture and the food industry in our country. The delegation was received by Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR CC secretary. The Czechoslovak ambassador, Jirzi Divisz, was present. The talks took place in the PZPR CC headquarters. The Polish side was represented by the director of the PZPR CC Agricultural Department, Stefan Zawodzinski, and the assistant director of this department, Jan Zegartowski. The guests from Czechoslovakia also attended meetings in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food economy and in the PZPR Warsaw Committee. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-13 Oct 85 p 2] 9295

NEW DIRECTOR FOR KRAKOW STATE THEATER--The mayor of Krakow, in coordination with the Minister of Culture and Art, appointed John Paul Gawlik to the position of managing and artistic director of the Juliusz Slowacki State Theater in Krakow. Jan Pawel Gawlik was a member of the editorial staff of ZYCIE LITERACKIE from 1956 to 1968. From 1968 to 1970 he was the literary director of Variety Theater, and from 1970 to 1980 he was the manager and artistic director of the Helena Modrzejewska Old Theater. He also directed the Television Theater and the Republic Theater. He is a member of the National Culture Council. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12-13 Oct 85 p 2] 9295

FACTIONALISM IN NEW WRITERS' UNION--I think that what has happened has had one very far-reaching effect: it brought about a deep division, such as has never happened before in this milieu. There were always differences in opinions, there were animosities, antipathies, etc., but people met, somehow respected each other, and mutually accepted each other. This milieu broke into two groups which completely severed contact with one other. This is a new phenomenon. I do not know whether this split can ever be made whole again. At the moment the question of membership in the new union is a factor which determines whether one is accepted in the community or is not accepted. There is no intermediate point here... the split is total. (Interview with Jan Jozef Szczepanski, chairman of the former Polish Writers' Union, KROLOWA APOSTOLOW No 9) [Text] [Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 41, 13 Oct 85 p 7] 9295

TALKS ON CRIME WITH FINLAND--At the invitation of Lech Domeracki, Minister of Justice, Ms Inkeri Anttila, director of the UN-affiliated Helsinki Institute for the Prevention of Crime, visited Poland. Ms Anttila will become acquainted with the Polish justice system, visit scientific-research centers and a penitentiary, and conduct talks with representatives of Polish teaching and practice in the field of crime prevention and control. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Oct 85 p 2] 9295

HUNGARIAN HONORS FOR CULTURAL ACTIVISTS--The historical ties which bind Poles and Hungarians are well-known. On 8 October, Irena Jelonek, employed in the Ministry of Culture and Art, was awarded the Hungarian People's Republic Silver Order of Labor for her contribution to cultural relations between our countries. This Hungarian award was in recognition of over 20 years of Ms Jelonek's activities. In bestowing it, Geoergy Biczko underscored her personal input to the establishment of cultural ties between our countries. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Oct 85 p 2] 9295

WEST GERMAN OFFICIAL VISITS--Bernhard Vogel, premier of the Rhineland-Palatinate government and leading activist in the West German CDU, visited Poland. He was received by Politburo member and PZPR CC secretary Jozef Czyrek. Current international problems and fundamental problems in the normalization of mutual relations were discussed. Vogel also met with Ernest Kucza, under-secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Relations. Poland-West Germany relations were discussed including Poland's cooperation with the Rhineland-Palatinate. Franz Pfeffer, FRG ambassador, was present. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Oct 85 p 2] 9295

PEASANT ACTIVISTS' KATOWICE MEETING--In observance of the 90th anniversary of organized political activity of the peasant movement in Poland, ceremonies were held on 8 October. In attendance were Jerzy Romanik, PZPR CC Politburo member, Kazimierz Kazub, member of the Presidium and ZSL Supreme Committee secretary, and Jozef Ozga-Michalski, member of the Council of State. Over 100 of the most meritorious members of the ZSL in Katowice Province were awarded the Cavalier Cross of the Order of the Rebirth of Poland, Gold and Silver Crosses of Merit, and 40th Anniversary of People's Poland Medals. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Oct 85 p 2] 9295

CSO: 2600/66

YUGOSLAVIA

PAPER ATTACKED FOR CRITICIZING REVOLUTIONARIES

AU232105 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 85

[Commentary by Milutin Milenkovic entitled "On the Fifth Column Positions" with quotations from literary periodical KNJIZEVNE NOVINE read by announcer]

[Text] [Milenkovic] It is not a rare event for the periodical called KNJIZEVNE NOVINE to have an editorial or a social chronicle column with an extremely fastidious, directly aggressive denial of the right to a different opinion. In a so-called struggle for dialogue, for the freedom of thoughts and speech, and against political labelling and dogmatism, all those who dare make an essential remark not about the literary, but about the outstandingly political part of the periodical, are insulted by the worst abuse and called the most colorful names. Shouting that they are persecuted, the persecutors from the KNJIZEVNE NOVINE editorial board not only gladly wield their whip, but also first dip it well into the venom of hatred and the dirt of slanders.

Harsh words, some listeners may think. Do we not, in our rage, exaggerate things? Are there not in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE also some valuable, creative, inspired, and justifiedly concerned columns about this time and about us in this time? There is no doubt there are, and that not even the justified anger because of the other, fewer in number texts, should not block those values. However, when what is involved is the socio-political concept of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, the editorial board has gone so far as to publish even the laments over fascist servants from the times of the occupation whom some nervous gunmen readily leaned against the wall after the war. Of course, one cries only over the Serb fifth column--the others remain war criminals. And the KNJIZEVNE NOVINE chief and responsible editor stated at the meeting of the workers aktiv in Belgrade a week ago, that every text that has been published has been precisely thought out and that he answers for every text. What is involved, therefore, is not an omission, accidental oversight, or the author's trick on the periodical's editorial board, but a conscious orientation.

And what the orientation looks like, one can see clearly from the periodical's many articles and commentaries. As an example, we will quote only an excerpt from the commentary entitled "Let Us Reconcile Friends, Enemies Have Been Calmed Down." It was published in the issue of 15 October, that is, on the eve of the days of liberation of Belgrade, Kragujevac, and many other parts of

the country and at the time when guests from the Slovene "Brotherhood and Unity Train" were paying a visit to Serbia.

[Announcer] The whirlwind of war brought refugees from various parts of Yugoslavia to Serbia, and among those there was not a small number of those from Slovenia. It is known that those refugees stayed with their Serbian hosts until the end of the war, but it has never been said what the authority that organized their shelter and provided their sustenance was. The people remember that those tasks were taken care of by representatives of both state and spiritual authority and therefore cannot understand why they were frequently readily leaned against the wall later and ended up being called occupier's servants and traitors and all this according to the nervous gunmen's verdict.

For every bullet we have fired, we have either a culprit or cover, but what is interesting is that such a situation has been maintained for over 40 years.

[Milenkovic] This is how KNJIZEVNE NOVINE writes. If that state and spiritual authority from the times of fascist displacement of Slovenes and the occupation was responsible for the humanist act of accepting the displaced persons and providing their sustenance, let it also be known, author Dragoljub Petrovic shows his concern, what kind of people were those who carried out the revolution during the war for national liberation. In the same text, KNJIZEVNE NOVINE writes about them, among other things the following:

[Announcer] In its revolutionary campaign, the party sometimes used to rely upon morally questionable persons and that fact provoked suspicion and resistance with honorable people. People who frequently could do things only the way they first learned to do them therefore found themselves with the power and in power, and any people's resistance against them personally they readily declared to be resistance against the party and revolution and at first they summarily leaned against the wall all disobedient people, and later sent them to reeducation or socially useful work.

It is not strange, therefore, that the word "liberation," for instance, failed to find its firm place everywhere among people, and certainly because there were among the local liberators many more vagabonds and chicken thieves than the people's healthy feeling for moral and justice could stand.

[Milenkovic] The highest point of unscrupulous hypocrisy is offered in the conclusion of the article.

[Announcer] If we have to live with debts, inflation, and all that friends have provided for us, can we do something so that this living is done with less venom and hatred, and without the terrorism of ideological and spiritual hygienists who always know all about things which would never enter the minds of honest people?

[Milenkovic] The man who appeals against hatred is the very sower of the worst harangue's hatred, who invokes even the appeals made by Spomenka Hribar

from Slovenia to make all national graves equal [referring to Hribar's suggestion that a monument be raised to all people who died for the homeland], who insinuates that the first organs of the new authority were composed of vagabonds and chicken thieves who cut people's heads off with their pencils. The man who appeals against hatred and terrorism of spiritual hygienists is an author who has only one thesis about the entire period of socialist buildup in Yugoslavia: The squandering and wasting of people's material and cultural goods on the part of the class of rentiers of the revolution. He also gives his recipe on how one is to put an end to chicken thieves. We quote: And so it went on, KNJIZEVNE NOVINE writes, until women caught the bounder sleeping and trashed him soundly with washing paddles.

Therefore, comrades veterans and all others who created the new authority and cooperated with its chicken thieves, bounders, and squanderers, prepare for the thrashing; KNJIZEVNE NOVINE knows what and whose the guilt and the merit are. They have recipes as well, for solving our, according to them, callous situation. They do not have--at least to date--a commission for raising a monument to Milan Nedic, father of the government of the national salvation of Serbia, under a swastika; to Velibor Djonic, priest in Nedic's government, who blessed mass executions at Jajinci, Banica, in Kragujavac, Kraljevo, and elsewhere; to Tasa Dimic, pre-war Gestapo employee and Ljotic's minister for refugee questions in the so-called Serbian government of General Nedic; and other meritorius representatives of state and spiritual authorities who were killed by nervous gunmen, chicken thieves, and bounders.

Can it be that a washing paddle--offered by KNJIZEVNE NOVINE as a how-to formula--really has only one end, and is this really a callous country, as--unoriginally repeating Djila's formula--Dragoljub Petrovic claims in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE? He also insinuates, insults, even lies, all the way from the title up to the last sentence, because the whole of that text tells one that the title of the article, which says that the enemies have been calmed down, is not true.

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YUGOSLAVIA

INTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICIAL NOTES INCREASE IN SPORTS VIOLENCE, FIRES

LD291855 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 29 Oct 85

[Excerpts] (?Belgrade), 29 Oct (TANJUG)--In Yugoslavia in the past 10 years around 11,000 fires on average used to break out per year, out of which 40 to 50 percent happened in the social sector. Material damage was huge and in 1975 it was in the area of one billion and in 1984 5.7 billion dinars. In the first 6 months of this year 5,499 fires were recorded and immediate material damage was over 5.5 billion dinars. From July to September an additional number of 4,278 fires broke out and material damage amounted to 6.5 billion dinars. In 9 months of this year the number of fires is almost the same as in 1984 while material damage doubled. A particular problem was created by forest fires on the coast and islands.

This was said today by Mirko Bunevski, assistant federal secretary for internal affairs, in response to a delegate's question by Vanco Nikolovski.

With respect to nationalistic incidents on sport occasions, Bunevski stressed that these incidents have increased to the extent which bordered with fascist assaults and methods of activity.

Bunevski stressed that the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs had in the course of this year informed the SFRY Assembly and other organs about the increased activity of the internal enemy, particularly from nationalistic and clericalistic positions which more and more characterized the numbers, frequency and aggression of the proponents and to a good deal they acted among youth which gave to the whole problem a special security and political dimension.

Bunevski went on to say that fanaticism characterized what could be called fascist nuclei of fans who continued with assaults regardless of public condemnations and measures undertaken against identified culprits from their milieus. He mentioned some cases characteristic of the crudity, militancy, and aggression of the culprits: the demolition of the Belgrade-Sarajevo train by Partizan fans last month; a hockey match on 6 October in Ljubljana, when, because of the singing of nationalistic songs and other assaults, the organizer had to empty a section of the auditorium; a basketball match in the same town when the guest team was insulted and the match broken off, a case in



Split on the occasion of the Hajduk-Crvena Zvezda match; an attempt of stoning a train at Belgrade railway station by Partizan fans; and so forth.

Despite the fact that all available information indicates the escalation of nationalistic and hostile activity with very extreme manifestations, the security organs so far have no knowledge which could directly connect hostile assaults on sport occasions with the increased number of fires this year, but the security organs are taking measures to establish such possible connections. However, it is obvious that these events with their volume, frequency, and consequences are reflected in the overall political and security situation in the country, Mirko Bunevski, assistant federal secretary for internal affairs, said at the end.

Miodrag Trifunovic, president of the Federal Chamber, then proposed that Federal Chamber should adopt a conclusion which would put the Federal Executive Council under obligation to send a written explanation on the reasons for the report on the implementation on the first stage of the long-term program of economic stabilization being late alongside the report. Delegates endorsed the proposal.

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YUGOSLAVIA

ZARKOVIC MEETS WITH SALVADORAN DEMOCRATIC FRONT OFFICIALS

LD041852 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 4 Nov 85

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)--LCY Central Committee Presidium President Vidoje Zarkovic, held talks with Dr Guillermo Ungo, El Salvador Revolutionary Democratic Front [FDR] president, who is in Yugoslavia at the invitation of the SAWPY Federal Conference.

In friendly talks in which Dr Aleksandar Sekulovic, LCY International Cooperation Department head, and Ruben Zamora, FDR Executive Commission member responsible for international relations, participated, views were exchanged on the situation in El Salvador and on the principle attitude of the LCY towards events in Central America.

Ungo informed Zarkovic on the situation in Central America and particularly in El Salvador, on the FDR's struggle and its efforts to realize peace and a democratic solution to the country's burning problems through dialogue and negotiation. However, Napoleon Duarte's government, relying on foreign support, unilaterally broke off all negotiations and is attempting to realize its objectives through military methods.

Stress was laid in the talks on the LCY's principal attitude; specifically, that each nation should make its own decision on the ways of its internal development without outside pressure and interference, relying on its own forces and in accordance with the country's specific conditions. In this sense, the LCY expresses full support to and solidarity with authentic revolutionary trends in El Salvador, as well as with the activities of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front/Revolutionary Democratic Front [FMLN-FDR].

Expressing the LCY's support for and solidarity with authentic revolutionary trends in El Salvador, as well as with the FDR's efforts to resume broken negotiations, Zarkovic stressed the fact that foreign interference is the main cause of crisis and conflicts in Central America in general and in El Salvador in particular. In this connection, he stressed the LCY's principal attitude; namely, every nation's inalienable right to decide its fate without outside interference.

In the talks both sides stressed the great significance of the nonalignment policy in the contemporary world which, with its constructive role, creates the best possibilities for progressive transformations.

Zarkovic also spoke of preparations for the 13th LCY Congress and of cooperation and relations between the LCY and communist, workers', and other progressive parties and world movements.

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YUGOSLAVIA

VIDIC ON 'GENERALIZED' CRITICISM OF LEADERSHIP

AU051730 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 85 p 3

[Report by D. Drazic and V. Krsmanovic]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Oct--At its session today, the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia held debate on the current questions of social and class strengthening of the LC of Serbia. The session was presided over by Ivan Stambolic, president of the LC Central Committee of Serbia.

Noting that the questions on the decreasing number of workers in the LC will be dealt with also at one of the forthcoming LCY Central Committee sessions, Dobrivoje Vidic pointed to some extreme statements one can hear or read concerning those questions. Therefore, even extremely absurd statements or assertions--that workers are leaving the party in large numbers, that leaderships do not live with the people, do not live the life of the people--go out to the public without measure and without a more comprehensive analysis. It sounds sometimes as if this leaving of the party is already an accomplished fact.

I am aware of our mistakes, Vidic added, and of a lifestyle we need not have allowed to ourselves, I know that people live in villas even, that there are privileges, and that there is even an alienation from the people and workers class. One should, however, observe this large potential of over 2 million LC members. How many of them belong to leaderships, Vidic asked, and do they all have some staggering privileges or are all living in villas? The greatest number of those people are to the greatest extent exhausting themselves by overwork. We can criticize them for doing a job in a certain way, or for not finishing it, or for failing to agree upon something, but not in such a generalized way and not the whole lot, without analysis or arguments.

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YUGOSLAVIA

TU OFFICIAL GIVES CAUSES OF, FIGURES ON STRIKES

AU052153 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Oct 85 p 6

[Report by Marija Petric]

[Excerpt] According to data provided by the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council, machines have been kept idle in 341 places in our country during the first half of this year. About 25,000 employed people, mainly highly skilled and skilled workers, decided on work stoppage as a form of protest. On the average, a work stoppage is somewhat longer than 8 hours. Almost 98 percent of those cases happened in the economy, and the most frequent cause is income and its division.

Compared with previous years, there are twice as many work stoppages this year and they are longer, and have more participants; therefore, there is the inevitable question of whether there are some new characteristics to these phenomena.

"According to what one could learn from reports arriving from republics and provinces, this year's work stoppages have no special characteristics that would make them differ from previous years," says Nikola Paunovic, member of the Council Presidium of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, who is in charge for such kind of disputes.

The reason for such an evaluation lies probably in the fact that causes of such work stoppages in about 90 percent of cases were personal incomes. Low personal incomes, the reduced value of points, conspicuous differences in earnings, delayed pay, reduced earnings resulting from laws, for instance in the case of organisations that are losers, all these are sparks that make workers resort to such moves as work stoppages.

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YUGOSLAVIA

VJESNIK COMPLAINS OF ANTI-SFRY ACTIVITIES IN CANADA

AU101847 Paris AFP in English 1817 GMT 10 Nov 85

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 10 (AFP)--The Zagreb-published Croat daily VJESNIK today accused the Canadian authorities of permitting "anti-Yugoslav" activities on Canadian soil.

VJESNIK criticised a two-day symposium scheduled to begin in Toronto next Friday on the theme "Yugoslavia after Tito." The meeting is under the auspices of the emigre Croat National Council (CNC), which has branches in Canada, the United States and Western Europe.

The CNC is considered by Belgrade to be both pro-Fascist and a supporter of the extreme-right Ustashi Croat Nationalist Movement.

VJESNIK termed the symposium a "gross provocation" and expressed surprise that the Canadian government "could be unaware of the identity and real activities of its participants," who were known, the newspaper said, for their "anti-Yugoslav sentiments."

The newspaper asked whether it was necessary to recall that to convene such a meeting "is contrary to all the assurances given by the Canadian authorities that they would not tolerate on their soil activities hostile to Yugoslavia, a country friendly to Canada."

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## 'MORAL-POLITICAL SUITABILITY' CRITERIA OPPOSED

[Editorial Report] An article entitled "In Principle, An Unsuitable Criteria," in the 8 October 1985 issue of the Zagreb weekly DANAS, pages 8-10, presents another negative commentary on the question of "moral-political suitability," i.e., LCY membership as a requirement for employment. It says, "The conviction is prevailing more and more that moral-political suitability as a condition for management jobs should be abandoned as soon as possible," and (quoting Vladimir Goati, adviser in the Belgrade Institute of Social Sciences) "it should be made possible for all patriotic citizens [regardless of LC membership] to help through their work and ability to pull the country out of the crisis."

Although the "suitability" requirement which was built into federal and republic social agreements on cadre policy in 1976 has been deemed unconstitutional by the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, the article said "decisions of this court do not obligate anyone, they do not have the character of a precedent, and constitutional courts of republics and provinces are autonomous and independent." Vjekoslav Cemeljic, judge on the Croatian Constitutional Court, said this court has not taken a definitive stand on the question. Peter Bekes, secretary of the Marxist Center of the Slovenian LC Central Committee, said "moral-political suitability is no longer a criteria [for employment] in the republic agreement on cadre policy or in the republic law." But, he said, this does not mean that in practice in some Slovenian areas this requirement is not applied. Nevertheless, in general "the situation in Slovenia is best illustrated by the fact that 30 percent of the directors of OUR's (organizations of associated labor) are not LC members," and that knowledge and ability, rather than LC membership, are more important in selecting supervisory cadres.

Noting that the requirement has also promoted development of a privileged position in society for LC members, Professor Jovan Miric of the Political Science Faculty in Zagreb said, "Because of this it is no wonder that many join the LC not because they want to be communists but because they want to join this privileged social category. Others, who for one reason or another do not join the LCY (and this then becomes an obstacle in their getting a job or getting promoted) become dissatisfied. And it is a very small step, I think, from a dissatisfied person to an opponent."

Professor Branko Caratan from the same faculty said that a geography teacher does not have to be a LC member to lecture on Antarctica, but it is a different matter when a teacher speaks against society, its orientation, socialist

self-management, brotherhood and unity, etc. "In this case he is unsuitable not because he thinks differently, but because he is propagandizing...doing something wrong."

Nevertheless, he said the uncritical expansion of the "institution of suitability" assumes that people can be forced to have required or desired ideas and political views. The history of socialism has shown, he said, that one has never been able to force an entire population "to be uniform.... Socialism seeks [rather] the freely-oriented person, a free creator of his own destiny.... If socialism is not a tender plant that will die if people hold differing ideas, then there is no need to restrict any dialogue on any subject, including moral-political suitability."

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

KOSOVO APPOINTMENTS--At a joint session of the three chambers of the Kosovo Assembly, Sefcet Jasari has been relieved of his post as a member of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, because of his preoccupation with his duties as president of the managing board of the Trepca Combine. Colonel Ismet Krasnici has been unanimously elected new provincial secretary for national defense and a member of the Kosovo Executive Council. Ramzi Koljgeci, previous secretary for national defense, has been appointed director general of the Balkan enterprise at Suva Reka. [Summary] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 85 p 3 AU] /9599

VETERANS DEMOTE MEMBER--Titograd, 28 Oct--At today's meeting the Presidium of the Federation of the Montenegrin National Liberation War Veterans Association removed Dr Zoran Lakic from his position as representative of the Federation of the Montenegrin National Liberation War Veterans Association to the board of editors of the POBJEDA Newspaper Publishing Organization which published the book "Montenegro Between 1941-1945" and to the 4 July Newspaper Publishing Work Organization, and also removed him from membership in the Federation of the Montenegrin National Liberation War Veterans Associations' Commission for Cultivating Traditions of the National Liberation War and Revolution. According to the Presidium's assessment, Dr Zoran Lakic, in reviewing the book "Allie and Yugoslav Drama" by Dr Veselin Duretic, practically agreed with the content of the book which is in fact an attempt to rehabilitate Chetniks and their ideology. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 85 p 3] /9599

ZAGREB RESIDENT, DAUGHTER SENTENCED--Zagreb, 13 Nov (TANJUG)--The Zagreb district court today sentenced 70-year-old Ivan Sunic, a retired man from Zagreb, to 4 years in imprisonment for making contact with a hostile group abroad and for publishing articles hostile to Yugoslavia in the Ustasha review NOVA HRVATSKA. His daughter, 33-year-old Mirna Sunic, was also sentenced to 9-months imprisonment for hostile propaganda. During the hearing Ivan Sunic admitted that he had written the articles and received the publication, which he said he distributed only to members of his immediate family. The presiding judge said that there was irrefutable evidence that the accused had acted consciously and voluntarily against Yugoslavia and had assisted enemy activity. In passing sentence the judge considered as mitigating circumstances the age of the accused and the fact that he had no previous convictions. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1755 GMT 13 Nov 85] /9599

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